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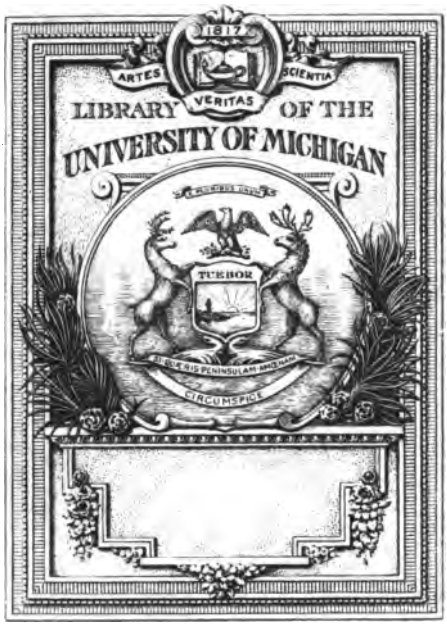
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A VIEW
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IRISH AFFAIRS
SINCE THE
REVOLUTION OF 1688;
TO THE CLOSE OF THE
PARLIAMENTARY SESSION of 1795;
WITH
INTRODUCTORY REMARKS,
AND A
PRELIMINARY SKETCH OF THE REVOLUTION.

BY JAMES MULLALLA, L L. B.—F. R. S.

VOL. II.

STATUI RES GESTAS, POPULI ROMANI, CARPTIM UTI QUÆQUE MEMORIA DIGNA VIDEBANTUR PERSCRIBERE: EO MAGIS, QUOD MIHI A SPE, METU, PARTIBUS REIPUBLICÆ, ANIMUS LIBER ERAT
SALLUST.

DUBLIN:
PRINTED BY T. HENSHALL, No. 3, BRIDE-STREET,
Near Werburgh-Street.
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ERRATA.

VOL. I.—Page 8,—Line 20. for *reviſing* read *reviving*—p. 15. l. 4 for *reveſre* r. *reverſe*—p 34, l. 9, for *commiſſionſon* r. *commiſſions, on*—p. 57, l. 20 for *exortation* r, *exhortations*—p. 58, l. 25 for *waited* r, *wanted*—p. 60, l. 20, for *manœvres* r. *manœuvres*—p. 77, l. 16. for *en* r. *net*—p. 98, l. 10, for *arange*, r. *arrange*—p. 111, l. 17, for *enemies*, r. *enemy's*—p. 149, l. 4, for *Tarber*, r. *Tarbert*—p. 164, l. r, *inſert a ſemicolon after barrenneſs, and dele ſemicolon after be*—p. 166, l. 14.—for *priveleges*, r. *privileges*—p. 195, l. 23. for *accupied*, r. *occupied*—p. 196, l. 12, for *be* r. *ſhe*—p. 221, l. 17, for *In* r. *On*—p. 288, l. 12, for *Breaſt* r. *Breſt* p. 315, l. 13, for *crimes* r. *crime*.

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A

VIEW

OF

IRISH AFFAIRS, &c.

CHAP. IX.

Low ſtate of our Trade, Manufactures and Commerce, previous to the Acceſſion of his preſent Majeſty—Cauſe of the Diſturbances in the North and South, with their Effects—Impolicy of the Houſe of Commons, with reſpect to the Reſolution of Agiſtment—The Diſtreſſes of the Nation ariſing from a cramped Commerce, and the State of the Repreſentative Body—The Bill for limiting the Duration of Parliaments to eight Years, called the Octennial Bill—An unconſtitutional Attempt to originate a Money Bill, in the Privy Council—Diſputes between the Houſe of Commons

and the Lord Lieutenant, relative to this Money Bill—Inſurgents denominated Hearts of Steel—Their Suppreſſion, and the cauſes of the Inſurrection—The Diſtreſſes of the Country during Lord Harcourt's Adminiſtration—The rupture between Great Britain and her Colonies—Its Effects on Ireland—Motions made in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, in favour of the Trade of Ireland, they miſcarry through the old illiberal policy of Great Britain—Reflections on that Subject—Aſſociations entered into againſt the Importation of Britiſh Goods—Its Salutary Effects—Origin of the Volunteers, with the good Conſequences reſulting from that Inſtitution.

GEORGE III. our preſent gracious Sovereign, aſcended the throne of his grandfather, George II. at the age of twenty two years. The whole tenor of his words and actions ſeemed deſigned to acquire and preſerve popularity; and if we are to form our judgment of the nation, by their addreſſes and congratulations, we may ſafely pronounce, that no prince was ever more bleſt with the cordial affection and attachment of his

his ſubjects. Every thing was expected from their beloved Frederick, late Prince of Wales, and ſuch was the temper of the nation, that they were diſpoſed to make the greateſt conceſſions, and to grant whatever his majeſty might think expedient, or neceſſary, for the ſupport and maintenance of the honour and dignity of the crown, as well as what the exigence of the ſtate might require.

THE peace concluded at Paris, reſtored the tranquillity of Europe, and hiſtory cannot furniſh an inſtance of ſo great and ſo flouriſhing an empire, as that of George III. A few years had only elapſed from the concluſion of the peace of Paris; when an empire which before was the wonder and admiration of the univerſe, during the time of profound peace, and under an eſtabliſhed form of government, began rapidly to loſe that reſpect, and eſtimation, in which it had been formerly held. Inſtability and weakneſs, marked each ſucceſſive appointment of the miniſtry. In ſome, theſe defects were inherent in the men, in others, they aroſe from

the partial ſupport they derived from the ſource of power: whilſt among the people, clamours, outrages and diſcontents prevailed; ſo that neither the reſpect which is naturally annexed to lawful authority, nor even the intervention of military force, could ſuppreſs or check them.

In a free government, every man is individually concerned in the fate of the whole, and in ſeaſons of public danger, is actually called upon to exert his beſt endeavours for the general good of that ſociety of which he is a member. It is the peculiar glory of the Britiſh conſtitution whereſoever planted, that each ſubject is highly intereſted in ſupport of thoſe laws under which he lives happily, and by which his life, his liberty, and his property are protected, in a manner altogether unknown to the citizens of other nations. Thus, engaging a large portion of the general happineſs, he is bound to give his perſonal aſſiſtance to ſecure the permanency of that political conſtitution, by which that happineſs has been promoted, and in whatever ſtation he is, he ſhould exert his beſt endeavours for that purpoſe. A ſenſe of this

this duty has induced us to attempt to give a ſketch of the preſent reign, the annals of which will be better illuſtrated at ſome future period.

MANY years preceding the acceſſion of his preſent majeſty, the loſs of trade and the decay of manufactures was univerſally complained of, in almoſt every part of Ireland; and the poverty of the nation was evidently conſpicuous, as well from the ſmallneſs of the grants, as the neglected and depopulated ſtate of the country. Every branch of our commerce was reſtricted by the narrow and illiberal policy of Great-Britain, and diſtreſs and deſpondency were but too viſible throughout the the kingdom. The baneful influence of war, and of other cauſes of national calamity are tranſient, but the evils originating from commercial reſtrictions are laſting and permanent. Tillage and manufactures were obſtructed, conſequently the decay of agriculture enſued, while a gloomy proſpect cramped the ſinews of Induſtry, and debilitated the powers of the mind.

DIS-

DISTURBANCES took place in the South and in the North, in the year 1762, which continued to the following year; thoſe diſturbances were directed merely to obtain a correction of local grievances, as to tithes and commons; but as mobs ſeldom ariſe without ſuffering ſome grievance, and never ſubſide without committing ſome injury in the proſecution of the intended reformation, many robberies and murders were committed; but men of property, ſoon took the alarm; the magiſtrates united themſelves in the execution of the laws, government co-operated, and thus peace was ſoon reſtored to the country.

THE cauſes of the diſturbances in Ulſter, originated in the old road act of parliament, by which high-ways and roads were made and repaired, by the labour of the houſeholders; they at length refuſed to make more of what they called *job-roads*, and roſe almoſt to a man, in oppoſition to a uſage they had for many years acquieſced in, and from the oaken-boughs, which they wore in their hats were denominated Oak Boys. The populace being thus rouſed did not know where to ſtop, but began to ſeek a general redreſs of grievances whether real or imaginary. Their firſt object was the overſeers

overſeers of roads; the ſecond the clergy, whom they reſolved to ſtrip of their perſonal and mixed tithes; the third was the landlords, the price of whoſe lands, particularly of turf-bogs they began to regulate. Theſe, together with ſeveral inferior objects only ſerved to demonſtrate the phrenzy of the inſurrection.

In the mean time, the military were collected from the other provinces, and the tumult in the ſpace of five or ſix weeks, was quelled with the loſs of only two or three lives. In the enſuing ſeſſion of parliament, the obnoxious Road Act was repealed, and the future repair of roads was provided for, by levying an equal aſſeſſment on the lands of both rich and poor. The cauſe of diſcontent being thus removed, peace and tranquillity re-aſſumed their former channels. Whereas in the ſouth, where the cauſe is permanent, the effect remained. The poor, there were unjuſtly deprived of their right of commonage, by mercenary landlords, and obliged to pay exorbitant rents for their little holdings, and by this means they have become conſtant enemies to the ſtate. It is generally believed, that the landlords in the South, in order to divert the popular fury from themſelves, not only fomented

fomented, but encouraged the deluded multitude to reſiſt the payment of tithes, and wreak their vengeance on the unoffending and innocent clergy, in that part of the kingdom.

THUS the deluded people, ſmarting under the galling load of oppreſſion, impoſed on them by unfeeling and callous hearted landlords, reſorted every where for relief, but where they ought. Therefore the cauſes muſt be removed before theſe diſturbances can be altogether quelled. The clergy and the poor will be equally diſtreſſed, while the firſt landlords of the country are abſentees, the ſecond either foreſtallers or graziers, and where only the tiller of the ſoil, ſtands ſometimes in a third and ſometimes in a fourth degree, from the original proprietor. To remedy this evil, ſomething ſhould be thought of, and ſomething done. This in fact appears together with the reſolution of agiſtment, the primary and radical cauſe of the preſent diſcontents in that quarter.

WE are all happy or miſerable by compariſon. Abſtract reaſoning of right or wrong, of law or ancient uſage, will never convince an illiterate cottager, of a rich grazing county, that

that it is the real conſtitution of the realm to have the clergy ſupported out of the produce of the arable lands of this kingdom, when he looks around him, and beholds that the five thouſand beſt acres in the pariſh, contribute nothing, and that he and ſome few other wretches muſt, out of the remaining three or four hundred acres, extract, by the power of inceſſant labour, ſufficient for the ſupport of their own families, and for that of the eſtabliſhed church. The illiterate peaſant cannot ſuppoſe, that ſuch groſs partiality has the ſanction of the law; he therefore concludes that the whole is a fraud, that tithes are a burden not impoſed by law on him, or on any man; that his neighbour the rich grazier, who covers the plains all around him, with innumerable oxen, never hears the demand of the rector, nor the voice of his proctor.

These are the natural concluſions of this unfortunate man, who has not knowledge enough to diſcover, that one branch of the legiſlature has, in effect, declared one law for the rich, and another for the poor; and that it is the adopted policy of Ireland in this inſtance

ſtance, to beſtow her rewards on thoſe who moſt effectually retard her improvement, and even contribute to her deſtruction. The peaſant therefore, undefended by wealth, or by knowledge, has recourſe to violence and outrage to protect him againſt the ſuppoſed fraudulent and illegal claims of the clergy, and is actually led into treaſon and rebellion by not properly underſtanding the myſterious wiſdom of the patriotic houſe of commons, in the ſeſſion of 1735, relative to the tithe of agiſtment; a reſolution then paſſed that houſe, which ought not to remain uncancelled, as it unqueſtionably commits private injuſtice, and violates the rules and practices of every enlightened nation on ſimilar occaſions. This groſs violation of equity and good policy by time and acquieſcence has in a manner uſurped the force of law, and eſtabliſhed the dangerous precedent, that an expreſſed wiſh of one houſe of parliament, ſhall controul the rights of the ſubject and check his free appeal to the courts of juſtice, in any caſe of real or alledged property; a reſolution which took advantage of the moderation and peaceable diſpoſition of the clergy, turned their virtues againſt their intereſt, and converted their compliance into

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an abjuration of their own rights and principles, and a direction of thoſe of their ſucceſſors. In ſhort it throws a ſtain on the morals and underſtandings of our forefathers, in the ſervile ſtate of this kingdom; a ſtain which the ſounder equity and better policy of the preſent repreſentatives of emancipated Ireland, can alone waſh away.

THE ill-judged policy of the ſiſter country in cramping the commerce and manufactures of Ireland, is a meaſure, which has not a ſhadow of a public and national cauſe to defend it. This monopolizing ſpirit of Great Britain, in a manner ſacrificed the trade and commerce of this country, for a ſeries of years, whereby they only enriched their natural enemies, at the expence of their friends and fellow ſubjects. The wool which has in conſiderable quantities been frequently ſmuggled into France, and manufactured there, and often ſent to oppoſe Britiſh fabrics at other foreign markets, would, only for the narrow ſpirit, above alluded to, have been manufactured in this country; the enemies of the empire, would in this inſtance loſe the benefit of it; and Ireland conſequently

quently profit by it while the wealth of the country would ultimately find its way into England. The trade of Ireland, ſuffers not only from the baneful ſpirit of Britiſh monopoly, but alſo from the nature of our taxes, and the manner of collecting them. The duties on goods imported, cauſe thoſe goods to come much higher to the conſumer, than they would do if the conſumer himſelf, was to pay the duty; and this becomes a ſtrong temptation to ſmuggle. The taxes on the neceſſaries of life, are in fact ſo many impoſts on trade and induſtry; and ſuch muſt be accounted the duties upon ſoap, coals, candles, ſalt, and leather, likewiſe, the duties on the importation of foreign raw materials, to be uſed in our own manufactures, operate as chains fetters and to ſhackle the progreſs of labour and the circulation of wealth.

These taxes were originally impoſed, under an idea of promoting the landed intereſt; but happy had it been for this country, if the gentlemen of landed property, had underſtood their intereſt before they put in practice

practice an ill-judged zeal in promoting it. Moreover the expenſive manner of collecting all our cuſtoms, is ſtill an additional diſadvantage we labour under; ſuch as the multiplication of offices, patent-places, fees, ſinecures and penſions. Theſe things create a dependence on the court, and are ſaid to ſtrengthen the hands of government; but if they do ſo in one reſpect, they weaken it much more in another.

They give two juſt cauſes for complaint; the beſt friends of the preſent eſtabliſhment, are grieved to behold meaſures which they cannot vindicate. Repeated murmurs, where there is a real foundation for them, naturally tend to alienate the affections of the maſs of the people, which, above all things, ſhould be guarded againſt; becauſe in ſeaſons of actual danger, it is the people, and not placemen and penſioners, who can ſave the government, and oppoſe themſelves againſt the invaſion of foreign, or the inſurrection of domeſtic enemies.—The want of ſubordination in the lower claſs of people, has been as injurious to commerce, as it has been to morals. Our manufacturing poor, if ſub-

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jeƈt to little or no controul, will run into vice; vice is attended with expence, which muſt be ſupported either by an high price for their labour, or by methods ſtill more deſtruƈtive. The end of all is poverty and diſeaſe; and thus they become a loathſome burthen on the community.

In proportion to the advantage of wages and the cheapneſs of proviſions, they become more vicious, more indigent and idle; numbers of them not working at all, while they have any thing to ſpend upon their vices. This want of ſubordination, ſo produƈtive of combination, and which proves ſo fatal to trade and induſtry, requires the utmoſt exertions of the legiſlature, to check and controul.

The Iriſh nation at this time laboured not only under theſe evils, but many others of a no leſs miſchievous tendency. The parliament of this kingdom in former days, was annual, but in latter times the duration of our parliaments was become commenſurate to the reign of each of our ſovereigns. This arrogated power, not only deſtroyed a vital principle

principle of the conſtitution, but was replete with conſequences fatal to the liberty and welfare of the nation; as the repreſentatives from the moment of election, became and acted totally independent of their conſtituents. The method of bribing the legiſlative body, became ſyſtematical, by which the intereſt and welfare of the community were overlooked and abandoned. Various means were made uſe of to remedy theſe evils, and to reſtore the conſtitution to its primitive principles; but they all proved abortive, while the influence of venality and corruption pervaded the political ſyſtem.

A. D. 1767. We are now arrived at an intereſting period, in the annals of Ireland. The celebrated Mr. Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, ſuggeſted the firſt idea of reducing the exorbitant power of our ariſtocracy. The eſtabliſhment of a reſident viceroy, ſeemed the moſt effectual means of carrying this wiſe, and liberal ſyſtem of policy, into execution; accordingly George Lord Viſcount Townſend, was appointed Lord Lieutenant, in the year 1767—On his Excellency's

arrival, he was, like the reſt of his predeceſſors, complimented, careſſed, and flattered. His Excellency's vivacity and volatile diſpoſition, were extremely pleaſing to many of our countrymen, and his nocturnal revels and *bon mots*, furniſhed entertainment and converſation to the metropolis. Like Charles, II. our merry Viceroy, did not aſſume the airs of royalty one hour in a month. At the commencement of his firſt ſeſſion, it however appeared manifeſt that he would not be content to be a *nominal* Viceroy. He therefore ſtripped the ariſtocracy of the power of conferring places of emolument under the crown; and he directed the channel of court favour into a multitude of little ſtreams, as not even the loweſt commiſſion in the revenue, could be diſpoſed of, without his approbation.

By theſe means the commons looked up to him, not only as the ſource, but the diſpenſer of every gratification. Although he ſeemed ſtudiouſly to deſpiſe popularity, yet he had the good fortune to attach the common people to him. The familarity of his deport-

ment

ment and ſtrong ſympathetic feelings, which often excited him to occaſional acts of generoſity, accompliſhed this, without premeditation or deſign. What principally diſtinguiſhed Lord Townſend's adminiſtration, was the bill for ſhortening the duration of parliament. The people were impatient for the meaſure, and his excellency in order to acquire popularity, at the expence of the ariſtocracy, countenanced it, and the more ſo, as he was ſtrongly impreſſed with the idea, that the bill introduced into the commons for the above purpoſe, would never be carried into effect; but, contrary to his expectations, the bill paſſed both houſes, by which the duration of our parliament was limited to ſeven years. When the bill was tranſmitted to England, it was there altered from a ſeptennial to an octennial bill; this alteration was made to damn it, as it was conceived that the Iriſh legiſlature would not accede to the alteration; but, notwithſtanding, ſo anxious was the nation for adopting the meaſure, that our parliament conceded to the alteration, and the bill paſſed into a law. This law was attended with the beſt conſequences, and encreaſed the popularity of Lord Townſend, conſide-

rably, however averſe his excellency's wiſhes might have been from a meaſure of ſuch general utility.

A. D. 1768. In purſuance of the Octennial Bill, the parliament was diſſolved and a new one elected, which met in Auguſt, 1769. In this ſeſſion, an attempt was made by government to trench upon the privileges of the commons. A money bill originating in the privy council was preſented to the commons. The bill was once read and then, with becoming, ſpirit rejected. This cauſed much heat and acrimony between the commons and the lord lieutenant, and to expreſs his indignation he repeatedly prorogued the meetings of the lower houſe until the month of February, of the year 1771. His excellency entered his proteſt upon the journals of the houſe of lords, againſt the proceedings of the commons, for rejecting the money bill originating in the privy council: for the legality of ſuch proteſts we refer our readers to the proteſt of the lords on that occaſion.

The parliament conducted themſelves with remarkable delicacy, in their ſtruggles with the

the viceroy; they gave unqueſtionable proofs of their loyalty and liberality to their ſovereign, at the time they ſhewed their ſuperiority over the meaſures of the chief governor: They not only granted his majeſty the ordinary ſupplies, but voted alſo an enormous loan; they acceded to the augmentation of the army, and enabled the king to alienate a part of the public revenues, which he had been before adviſed to alienate contrary to law. And the return made for all this was, the ſuſpenſion of an active and uncorrupted parliament for four years, without one act, except a ſupply bill, to the intimidation of future virtue, and the degradation of parliament. The conſequences were ruinous to the trade, credit and proſperity of the nation.

A. D. 1769. An inſurrection took place in the north of Ireland, this year, which, although it was not ſo general as that which happened in the year 1763, yet was more violent, as proceeding from a more peculiarly intereſting cauſe. The origin of it was this: an abſentee nobleman who enjoyed a very large eſtate in Ulſter, inſtead of ſetting it when out of leaſe for the higheſt rent,

which is the uſual mode in this kingdom, adopted a new way of letting his lands by taking large fines and ſmall rents. The occupiers of the land, however willing to give the higheſt rents were not able to pay the fines; conſequently they were diſpoſſeſſed by opulent undertakers, who, not ſatisfied with a moderate intereſt for their money, racked the rents to a pitch above the reach of the old tenant. Thus the wretched occupier, to whom long poſſeſſion had given no preference, was driven from his little habitation, unleſs he choſe to outbid every other propoſer, as the undertaker had ſet up his farm to the higheſt bidder. Upon this the people roſe againſt the foreſtallers, deſtroyed their houſes and maimed their cattle.

These miſerable people under the denomination of *Steel-boys*, committed many atrocities, and when driven to acts of deſperation knew not how to confine themſelves to their original object, but like the *Hearts of Oak*, became, general reformers. However the interference of the military ſoon quelled them, and on the execution of a few of their ringleaders, the former peace of the country was once more reſtored. But the cauſe of the commotion

commotion proved extremely injurious to the intereſt of the country, as it occaſioned many thouſands of our uſeful and induſtrious natives, to emigrate to America.

The legiſlature paſſed an act of a very odious and unconſtitutional nature, relative to the inſurgents denominated *Hearts of Steel.* It was enacted, that all perſons indicted of ſuch offences as thoſe imputed to the Hearts of Steel ſhould be tried in counties different from thoſe in which the offences were committed. The legiſlature no doubt dreaded that if the trials took place in the counties where the enormities were perpetrated, that the delinquents might be acquitted through fear of the reſentment of the populace, or a partiality in either witneſſes or jury. In purſuance of this act, many of the Hearts of Steel were ſent to Dublin, and there put on their trial for offences committed in the county of Antrim, but they were acquitted, as the mode of trial was conſidered a direct violation of a fundamental law of the conſtitution. Upon the repeal of this execrable act, ſeveral of the inſurgents were tried in their reſpective counties and executed.

The

A. D. 1771. THE commons wiſely in the ſeſſion of 1771, turned their attention to œconomy and every poſſible retrenchment in the expenditure of the public money. They refuſed to make proviſion for certain penſions which had been granted to individuals in violation of the royal promiſe. They diſcovered groſs errors; in the public accounts. On which they arraigned and condemned the exciſe board, and ſpiritedly reſolved that the abilities and eſſential intereſts of the nation ſhould be the meaſures of the ſupply. They convinced the viceroy, that the voice of the people was too powerful for him, and however great their reverence and regard for the ſovereign might be, yet when ſtrong meaſures were attempted, the oppoſition triumphed and defeated the views of the viceroy.

HOWEVER, notwithſtanding theſe virtuous efforts, the national debt was encreaſing, and taxes accumulating to an enormous extent; the country illiberally reſtricted in every branch of its commerce, a meaſure ruinous to Ireland and really ſerviceable to the rivals, if not the enemies of Great Britain. In a ſhort time the

the conſequences were but too evident. Individuals became bankrupts, and public credit tottered on the verge of ruin. Penſions encreaſed, the revenue declined, an oppreſſive peace eſtabliſhment took place, while an enormous debt contracted by the nation, beyond all proportion, exceeding that of any former period, cramped at once the ſinews of induſtry and depreſſed the native energy of the people.

A. D. 1773. THE Harcourt adminiſtration was altogether callous to the diſtreſſed ſtate of the country and carried its parliamentary meaſures with too high an hand; and, however ſenſible the commons were of the unhappy condition of the kingdom and felt the moſt lively emotions on that account, yet, this was not the period of redreſs. In this ſeſſion, at the paſſing of the money bills, the commons clearly pointed out the impropriety and injuſtice of the Britiſh parliament, in reſtricting our trade and ſhackling our commerce, and declared that they expected a reſtoration of their rights, and an exemption from commercial reſtrictions, as the only means of ſatisfying their conſtituents for the heavy

heavy burthens impoſed during this ſeſſion of parliament. But ſtill the ſame diſpoſition towards Ireland was continued by Great Britain, notwithſtanding the ſituation of the country was truly deplorable; but Ireland was not the only complainant on this occaſion; the ſame baneful policy, that ſo materially injured this country, extended its influence to America.

A. D. 1774. THE diſpute that took place between Great Britain and America, which originated in the ſtamp act, ten years before, now drew to a criſis. The Britiſh cabinet reſolved to bind America in all caſes whatever, and nothing leſs than unconditional ſubmiſſion to this tyrannic meaſure, was required on the part of America, and to effect this, coercive meaſures were determined on, and the Britiſh premier vainly boaſted—"That he would lay America proſtrate at his feet." The Americans, with ſupplicating hands begged to avert theſe evils, and to be reſtored to the enjoyment of equal privileges with the other members of the empire. They alledged, that taxation, without their conſent, was abſolute tyranny; as taxation

taxation and repreſentation ought to be inſeperable. In the year 1774-and-75, the Americans preſented manly, yet decent and reſpectful applications to the king, to the parliament, and to the people of England; but the manner in which they were rejected, exhibits a ſtrong picture of the pride and infatuation of the Britiſh miniſtry. War was in effect levied by the violence of the Boſton port bill, the vacation of their charter, the change of their government, and the arrival of fleets and armies to execute theſe cruel decrees. Thus American ſupplication was to be anſwered by the mouth of Britiſh cannon, and thus unoffending humility was tortured into rage, and the infancy of exiſtence made to weep.

A. D. 1775. AMERICA now, on her part, began to make vigorous preparations for the *dernier reſort*. The flame of liberty was kindled in each breaſt, and the voice of patriotiſm was echoed from pole to pole. In 1775, the tempeſt, that for a time was collecting all its fury, burſt at Boſton, and the torch of war blazed throughout the Continent of America. This was a fatal moment

moment for the honour and glory of the Britiſh empire; then indeed, to uſe the emphatic words of the late Lord Chatham, "The ſun of England ſet, to riſe no more!"

America and England, being plunged into all the horrors of civil war, added ſtill more to the calamities of Ireland. The exportation of Iriſh linen for America, was very conſiderable; but now this great ſource of national wealth, was totally ſhut up, by a very unconſtitutional ſtretch of prerogative, under the pretext of preventing the Americans from being ſupplied with proviſions from this country. An embargo was laid on the exportation of proviſions from this kingdom, and it was continued, in reality to enable a few rapacious Britiſh contractors to make good their engagements. This embargo combined with other cauſes, which were invariable and permanent, produced the moſt melancholy effects. Wool and black cattle fell conſiderably in value, ſo alſo, did lands; and rents, in many places, could ſcarcely be collected, ſo much was public credit eſſentially injured.

A. D. 1776. NUMBERS of wretched manufacturers were reduced to extreme indigence, and would have abſolutely periſhed, were they not ſupported by public charity. Government were not at this time able to make grants, either to promote induſtry, or to relieve the national calamities, as the treaſury was nearly exhauſted. Every branch of the revenue failed, and ſuch was the poverty of the nation, that the militia law could not be carried into effect. Ireland could not pay her forces abroad, and was obliged to borrow money from England to pay thoſe at home. Our parliament was neceſſitated to raiſe money at an exorbitant intereſt. Such of the Engliſh as had eſtates in this kingdom, becoming partakers of the common calamity, together with others who had no perſonal intereſt in the kingdom, turned their ſerious attention to the deplorable ſituation of our affairs.

A. D. 1778. ACCORDINGLY a committee was appointed by the commons of Great Britain, to conſider the trade of Ireland; it was obſerved that the condition of Ireland was miſerable in the extreme; as appeared

peared evident by the reduced prices of our lands, the ruinous ſtate of our manufactures, and the general poverty of the nation. In conſequence of this, the committee of the whole houſe of commons, paſſed unanimouſly the following motions—" That the Iriſh " might be permitted to export directly to the " Britiſh plantations, or to the ſettlements on " the coaſt of Africa, all goods the produce " or the manufacture of the kingdom, wool " or woollen manufacture only excepted, or " commodities of the growth or manufactures " of Great Britain, legally imported from " that kingdom; as alſo, foreign certificate " goods, under the ſame condition. That " all the goods, the produce of any of the " Britiſh ſettlements, or of the ſettlements on " the coaſts of Africa, tobacco excepted; be " allowed to be directly imported into Ire- " land. That glaſs, manufactured in Ireland, " be permitted to be exported from it, to all " places, Great Britain excepted. That cot- " ton yarn, the manufacture of Ireland, be " allowed to be imported into Great Bri- " tain, and that Iriſh ſail cloth and cordage " ſhould have the ſame privilege."

A. D. 1778. BILLS were framed on the above-mentioned motions; but the trading and manufacturing towns of Great Britain now took the alarm; they conſidered every increaſe of the trade of Ireland, not only as prejudicial to their intereſt, but an encroachment on their rights. It was their wiſh that Iriſhmen ſhould neither be permitted to export their own commodities, nor to import thoſe of other countries. Conſequently many petitions were preſented to the Britiſh parliament againſt the intended indulgence to Ireland; many members were inſtructed to the ſame purpoſe; and thus theſe bills fell to the ground.

BY the navigation acts paſſed in the reign of Charles II. Ireland was deprived of every incentive to induſtry, and ſhut up againſt every avenue to wealth, notwithſtanding Ireland had employed her treaſury, and deſolated her land to prove her attachment and loyalty to Great Britain. For this, reſtriction and commercial bondage had been her reward. The ſmallneſs of the Iriſh taxes had been often pleaded againſt, allowing the benefits propoſed.—But if the internal opulence

lence and external advantages of both countries were compared, it would be found that Ireland paid taxes in a fourfold proportion more than Great Britain.

IRELAND was taxed beyond her ability, and was totally deſtitute of the means of payment. Wherefore, independent of all regard to juſtice and liberality, Great Britain was bound from neceſſity to remove our complaints. The trade with America was loſt, therefore it became indiſpenſibly neceſſary to unite in one point of intereſt and affection the remaining parts of the empire for their mutual preſervation and ſupport. Ireland had hitherto been paſſive, but there was danger if refuſed juſtice, that ſhe would recoil on her oppreſſors, to caſt off the yoke of thoſe who were inſenſible to her calamities, and determined to drive her to deſperation.

A. D. 1778. IN the ſeſſion of 1779, various efforts were made in the Britiſh parliament in favour of the commerce of Ireland, but they all miſcarried, through the interference of the miniſter, who had hitherto

therto taken no ſhare in the buſineſs. In the interim, matters haſtened to a criſis in this country; however the feelings of the nation were ſuſpended by the hope of relief ſo long as the affairs of Ireland were before the Britiſh parliament; but when it was found, that the Britiſh miniſter, in whom they had confided, had deſerted their cauſe, and that their hopes were deluſive, the diſcontents of the people, exaſperated by diſappointment, kindled into a flame.

Two laws paſſed the Britiſh parliament in favour of Ireland, one permitting the Iriſh to plant tobacco, the other to encourage the culture of hemp. But theſe were received with contempt, as they could be conſidered only as a mere mockery on the Iriſh nation. But a ſpirit was now kindling in the kingdom, which was ſhortly to retrieve the dignity of the country and do juſtice to its claims. Aſſociations were entered into in many parts of the kingdom, againſt the importation of Britiſh commodities, and for the encouragement of Iriſh manufactures.

In conſequence of this effort of patriotiſm, Iriſh manufactures began to revive, and the demand for Britiſh goods in a great meaſure decreaſed, which produced a diſpoſition in Great Britain, to attend to the complaints of this country, different indeed from that which Ireland had hitherto experienced. But there was a voice in favour of Ireland more diſtinctly heard, which proclaimed through the nation, the injuries we ſuſtained, and louldy demanded redreſs. In conſequence of the war with America, the Iriſh coaſts had been inſulted, and their trading veſſels unprotected, were captured by American privateers. Even the communication with great Britain was nearly obſtructed.

France had now reſolved to unite her arms to thoſe of America, which ſtill rendered the ſituation of this country more critical and precarious. There was even a probability that Ireland would be invaded, deſtitute as ſhe was of the means of defence, England from her embarraſſed ſtate was neither able nor inclined to lend us any aſſiſtance: in this alarming ſituation a few volunteer companies were formed, who choſe their

their own officers, purchaſed their own uniform and arms, and with the aſſiſtance of perſons properly qualified, acquired the knowledge of arms and of the military art. Such was the origin of the volunteers, an inſtitution which will be long revered by every patriotic Iriſhman.

GOVERNMENT made ſome efforts to render the volunteers ſubſervient to the views of the crown, but they proved ineffectual; ſo when it was impoſſible to prevail on them to act conſonant to the wiſhes of government, it was now thought moſt prudent to treat them with confidence. Wherefore government iſſued orders to the governors of the reſpective counties in the kingdom, to diſtribute among the volunteers ſixteen thouſand ſtand of fire arms. The ſpirit of the people was at length rouzed, they felt indignant at their grievances, and the repreſentative body now ſeemed diſpoſed to act in uniſon with their wiſhes.

A. D. 1779. THE Iriſh parliament met in October of this year, and in their addreſs to his majeſty, they unanimouſly de-

clared that it was not by temporary expedients, but by a free trade only that the nation was to be ſaved from impending ruin. The ſtreets of the metropolis were lined from the parliament houſe to the caſtle by the Dublin volunteers, when the ſpeaker carried up this addreſs to the lord lieutenant. On this occaſion the pulſe of the nation beat high; yet the hope of redreſs was accompanied with doubts, ſuſpicions and fears, leſt the ſame diſpoſition in Great Britain which had hitherto tyrannized over this kingdom ſhould render our wiſhes and expectations vain and deluſive; and by many it was conceived that nothing but compulſory means would redreſs our grievances or procure that juſtice which the infatuated policy of Great Britain had ſo long and ſo ſhamefully denied.

The nation apprehended, if the ſupplies were granted for two years, as was uſual, that Great Britain would ſtill continue her uſurpation, and by a prorogation of parliament fruſtrate all their wiſhes. Theſe ſentiments pervaded the kingdom, but in parliament the court party were averſe from the

the meaſure. From reſentment the populace of Dublin committed ſeveral acts of violence, and menaced thoſe who ſhould oppoſe it. When the matter came to be diſcuſſed, a majority of the commons ſome from principle and others from neceſſity ſupported the meaſure. A ſhort money bill therefore paſſed, and was tranſmitted to Great Britain, where however morti ying to the miniſter, it paſſed alſo; ſuch was the ſituation of the kingdom, and a critical one it certainly was, as the Iriſh were almoſt driven to deſpair. The circumſtances of Ireland were truly ſingular; ſhe had long maintained a military eſtabliſhment for internal defence, beyond her ability; of which contrary to royal faith, ſhe had been ſtripped in order to carry on the war againſt America. In this ſhe had no concern, nay its principle ſhe had reaſon to dread, leſt it ſhould be applied to the ſubverſion of her own conſtitution. In this ſtate of weakneſs, the enemies of the empire menaced her with invaſion, and when ſhe ſought protection from Britain, ſhe; was anſwered, you muſt protect yourſelves."

THUS expoſed and deſerted, Ireland was ſaved by the magnanimity of her volunteers, who from every claſs and deſcription of men, voluntarily armed and united in defence of their country. Ireland now conſcious of poſſeſſing a force and conſequence to which ſhe had hitherto been a ſtranger, applied it wiſely for the attainment of national advantages. The government had in a manner been abdicated, and the nation reſumed the powers, which the principles of the conſtitution, as well as the neceſſity of the times not only juſtified, but obliged them to. Some time before, perhaps, ſmaller matters would have gratified the Iriſh, and they would have received them with thanks, but this was not the ſeaſon for either gratitude or reconciliation, by means of partial and temporiſing meaſures. Whatever England might at preſent grant, would not be conſidered as a favour by Ireland, but merely as a matter of juſtice and right.

BY this time the Britiſh miniſter finding himſelf not a little hampered by the ſhort money-bill, and alarmed at the ſpirited proceedings

ceedings of Ireland, brought forward at length his propoſitions relative to this country. Their object was to repeal the laws which prohibited the exportation of Iriſh manufactures, made of, or mixed with wool, from Ireland to any part of Europe. To repeal ſo much of the act of the nineteenth of George the II. as prohibited the importation of glaſs into Ireland, except of Britiſh manufacture, or to export glaſs from that kingdom; and alſo, to permit Ireland to export and import commodities to and from the Britiſh colonies, and the Weſt Indies, and her ſettlements on the coaſts of Africa; ſubject to ſuch regulations and reſtrictions as ſhould be impoſed by the Iriſh parliament. Bills exactly conformable to thoſe propoſitions were brought into the Britiſh Parliament, and paſſed into laws.

The pleaſure and joy, which the Iriſh manifeſted on this occaſion, were expreſſed in the moſt lively and ſenſible manner. But when the natural feelings on ſuch events ſubſided, the public mind reaſonably concluded that a free trade held by an uncertain tenure, was

but

but of little uſe, and that to render it of real benefit to the nation, it ought to have a ſolid and permanent baſis to reſt upon.

GREAT Britain repealed the laws that reſtricted our commerce from neceſſity alone, and her parliament might perhaps fetter our commerce by new and more oppreſſive reſtrictions. Wherefore in order to ſecure the advantages the Iriſh now obtained with reſpect to trade and commerce, it became abſolutely neceſſary to maintain the freedom of the conſtitution, and to oblige the ſiſter nation to abandon and renounce her uſurped claim to legiſlate for this country.

To effectuate theſe meaſures, the nation naturally looked up to the ſpirit and patriotiſm of the volunteers, and they were indefatigable in their exertions for the attainment of ſo glorious an object. The volunteers had by this time, become extremely reſpectable, and their reputation and conduct were ſuch, as entitled them to the unanimous thanks of both houſes of parliament. This together with their decency and neatneſs, contributed not a little to augment their numbers

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THE ſituation of Great Britain at this period, was extremely critical; without a ſingle ally, ſhe had to contend with the force of America, and the united branches of the houſe of Bourbon. The preceding ſummer, the French fleet rode triumphant in the Britiſh Channel. It would redound little to the honour or juſtice of Britain, to aſſert that in the hour of her weakneſs alone, Ireland looked up with confidence towards emancipation. The cauſe and effect of the American war, were replete with inſtruction. Oppreſſed Ireland ſeized the opportunity, and boldly declared that ſhe was an independent kingdom, entitled by reaſon, by nature, and by compact, to all the privileges and immunities of a free conſtitution; and that no power on earth was competent to make laws to bind them, ſave only her king, lords and commons; and that in ſupport of theſe rights, they were determined to riſque their property and their lives.

A DISTINGUISHED and patriotic ſenator in the ſeſſion of 1780, moved in the houſe of commons, "That no power on earth ſave the

king lords, and commons of Ireland, were competent to make laws to bind us; although the truth of this propoſition was not denied, yet it is certain, that had the queſtion been put on it, it would have been negatived; for at this time, not only government, but the majority of the repreſentative body, oppoſed the conſtitutional claims and rights of the people.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The Iriſh mutiny Bill made perpetual in England—The rejection of a modification of Poyning's Law, and the attempts of rendering the Judges independent—The noble Conduct of the Volunteers in Defence of the Country when menaced with an Invaſion—Their wiſe and ſteady Reſolutions for emancipating the Country—The Volunteer meeting at Dungannon on the 15th of February, 1782—A retroſpect to the Affairs of America.—The change of the Britiſh Miniſtry—Its effects on Iriſh Affairs—Several uſeful Laws enacted in favour of Ireland—The repeal of many obnoxious Laws affecting the Catholics—Diſſolution of the Iriſh Parliament byt he Earl of Northington—Independence of America allowed by Great Britain, and the bleſſings of Peace reſtored to Europe—The rejection of a Parliamentary Reform and protecting Duties—Mr. Orde's ſubſtitute for protecing Duties rejected—The Police Act—Orde's Education Bill ſubmitted to Parliament—Death of the Duke of Rutland—The Folly of confiding too haſtily in new Adminiſtrations—The

—The Regency Buſineſs—Conteſts in Parliament on the Subject whether their Proceedings ſhould be by Bill or Addreſs—Reflections on the State of the Country—Departure of the Lord Lieutenant, and the Appointment of Lords Juſtices

A. D. 1780. THE Iriſh army had heretofore been regulated by an act of the Britiſh legiſlature; a mutiny bill was now introduced into the Iriſh houſe of commons, to place it under the direction of our own parliament. The bill paſſed, but was made perpetual in England. The amendment was ſubmitted to by the parliament of this country, and the bill paſſed into a law. This remedy was unqueſtionably worſe than the diſeaſe. It muſt be admitted, that the profeſſion of arms detaches men from their country, and attaches them moſt firmly to the intereſts of the crown. Standing armies therefore, cannot naturally be conſidered as the gurdians of the rights and privileges of the people, they were originally kept on foot, not only to encreaſe, but to ſecure the influence of the crown.

A STAND-

A Standing army was never acknowledged by the common law, and was at all times the cauſe of ſuſpicion and jealouſy to the Engliſh parliament. This appears clearly from their mutiny bill, which was deſigned and framed as much as poſſible to reduce the army under their own controul; but in Ireland, to ſuffer his majeſty to be furniſhed with perpetual regulations for governing the army, might in proceſs of time, prove extremely inimical to the liberties of the country, and the happineſs of the people, particularly as the crown enjoys ſo conſiderable an hereditary revenue in this kingdom.

A. D. 1780. THESE ideas on the ſubject of the mutiny bill, cauſed much diſcontent among the Iriſh, but they derived no ſmall hopes from the ſpirited conduct of the parliament, on the commencement of the Carliſle adminiſtration; however, their expectations proved vain, as two patriotic meaſures were unſucceſsful in the houſe of commons, the one for obtaining a modification of Poyning's law, and the other to procure the independence

dependence of the judges. Such was the addreſs of Lord Carliſle, that he almoſt carried every meaſure agreeable to his own wiſhes, and the repeal of the obnoxious part of Poyning's law, together with all other efforts made by the minority, in favour of the country, proved abortive.

A PARTIAL compliance at this time with the wiſhes of the people, would in all probability have ſatisfied the nation, wherefore as good frequently reſults from evil, ſo the conduct of government at this time, in oppoſing the wiſhes of the Iriſh, produced that exertion which gave birth to the freedom of the country.

A. D. 1781. IN the Autumn of this year, the enemy's fleet was in the channel, and deſigned to invade Ireland. Government communicated their apprehenſions on the occaſion to the nation, and the volunteers immediately aſſembled from all parts of the kingdom; offering their aſſiſtance and ſervices, in the mean while they did duty in ſome of the garriſoned towns, inſtead of the military, whom it became expedient to call off

off to more diſtant parts of the kingdom. For theſe gallant ſervices, which undoubtedly ſaved the country from invaſion, the volunteers a ſecond time received the thanks of both houſes of parliament. But the hour of Ireland's emancipation drew nigh, for the inſolence with which popular meaſures were treated by the government, excited at length the indignation of the nation, and kindled a patriotic glow in the breaſts of the volunteers. The buſineſs commenced with the Armagh volunteers, commanded by that revered character, the Earl of Charlemont. In the month of December they aſſembled, and entered into ſpirited and conſtituional reſolutions, and appointed a meeting on the February following, to be held at Dungannon, to which meeting delegates from every volunteer aſſociation in the province of Ulſter, were earneſtly requeſted to attend. Government in the intermediate time, uſed its utmoſt influence to prevent the intended meeting; but to no effect. For on the appointed day, delegates from one hundred and forty three corps met at Dungannon, and entered ino ſeveral truly patriotic reſolutions,

but

but the the chief one was, "*That the claim of any body of men, other than the king, lords, and commons, of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconſtitutional, illegal, and a grievance.*" They alſo agreed to a manly and ſpirited addreſs to the minority in both houſes of parliament, thanking them for their paſt exertions on behalf of their country, and exhorting and animating them to perſevere as the voice of the people was with them, a voice which was unanimous, and determined to be free.

A. D. 1782. NOTWITHSTANDING, the great conſtitutional queſtions that came to be diſcuſſed in parliament were borne down, as government was ſtill too powerful for the friends of the people: however two things occurred in the houſe of commons, which made a deep impreſſion on the public mind, and contributed to forward the emancipation of the country. In a debate concerning the excluſive legiſlative rights of this kingdom, the only apology for Britiſh uſurpation that could be made by government was the tyrannic one, that "*Power conſtituted right.*" A motion declaring that the commons were

were the repreſentatives of the people, was negatived at the ſame time, by connecting both theſe circumſtances together, Iriſhmen naturally and juſtly inferred, that they were not only ſlaves to Britiſh deſpotic principles, but that their repreſentatives in parliament had renounced all connexion with them, as not conſidering themſelves the choſen guardians of their liberty and property. By theſe means however, the general diſcontent and diſſatisfaction of the nation were aggravated and encreaſed; and the Dungannon reſolutions were adopted with an enthuſiaſtic zeal by the volunteers of every other province in the kingdom, and now even the friends of adminiſtration were irreſiſtibly borne down by the torrent, and began to manifeſt themſelves as the zealous champions of the rights and liberties inherent in the conſtitution of the country.

Let us for a moment tranſport ourſelves to the continent of America. We now behold the Britiſh colonies in a new point of view. They had formally renounced their dependence on the mother country, and placed their independence on the ſhoulders of France, a

great and powerful nation. The combined forces of France and America were in a manner every where triumphant, and the capture of Lord Cornwallis in the year 1781, ſecured the independence of America. This powerful ſucceſs on the continent of America, effected the removal of the Britiſh miniſtry, who firſt kindled the flames of war, and by their raſh and imprudent counſels, brought diſgrace on the arms of Great Britain, deſtroyed her people, diſmembered her empire and added to her debt the addition of 100,000,000 Sterling. How fatal are the effects of pride, ambition, vain glory, and revenge! and ought we not to bluſh for the depravity and corruption of human nature that cauſes ſo much blood and treaſure to be expended, in order to ſecure the rights of mankind, and lay the baſis of ſocial happineſs! Theſe conſiderations ſhould operate powerfully on the minds of potentates and miniſters, and render them more cautious how they invade, or infringe on the rights of their people.

A. D. 1782. The price with which America purchaſed freedom has impreſſed attentive nations with ſurpriſe, and ſet many

many of them upon eſtimating its value. Their ſucceſs animated all thoſe who ſighed for liberty, and in conſequence of the revolution in America, millions of ſlaves in Europe hoped to be treated with more lenity and moderation, little did Lewis think, when he was eſtabliſhing the independence of America, that he was preparing the axe for his own annihilation, and the ſubverſion of the government, laws, religion, and morals of his country.

The change of the Britiſh miniſtry was attended with one circumſtance equally advantageous both to Great Britain and Ireland, as it brought men into power, who were diſtinguiſhed by more political wiſdom and actuated by more liberal principles. In April of this year, the Duke of Portland was appointed lord lieutenant of this kingdom and ſhortly after his arrival, he ſent a meſſage to parliament, informing them, that he had it in command from his majeſty to acquaint them, that his majeſty was concerned to find that diſcontents and jealouſies prevailed among his loyal ſubjects of Ireland, upon matters of great weight and importance; he therefore recommended it to parliament to take the ſame into

their ſerious conſideration, in order to come to ſuch a final adjuſtment, as would afford mutual ſatisfaction to his kingdoms of Great Britian and Ireland.

Both houſes of parliament, unanimouſly repreſented their ſentiments and thoſe of the nation, concerning the grievances of the kingdom, to his majeſty, in a dutiful and loyal addreſs. And after enumerating their grievances, they conclude, by aſſuring his majeſty, that they were the more confident in the hope of redreſs, as they were ready to ſhare with Britain her freedom, and to ſhare her fate.

Shortly after, the lord lieutenant, in his ſpeech, informed both houſes of parliament, that he was enabled by the magnanimity of the king, and the wiſdom of the Britiſh parliament, to aſſure them, that immediate attention had been paid to their repreſentations, and that the Britiſh legiſlature had concured in a reſolution to remove the cauſes of their diſcontents, and united in a deſire to gratify every wiſh expreſſed in their late addreſs to the throne; and that in the mean time, his majeſty was graciouſly diſpoſed

to

to give his royal aſſent to acts to prevent the ſuppreſſing of bills in the Iriſh privy council, and to limit the mutiny bill to two years.

In conſequence of this gracious intimation, the commons ſent a moſt loyal and dutiful addreſs, they acquaint his majeſty, that they conceive an unqualified repeal of the ſixth of George I. to be a meaſure of conſummate wiſdom and juſtice ſuitable to the dignity and conſequence of both nations, exalting their character, and furniſhing a perpetual pledge of their mutual amity. They alſo inform his majeſty, that they would prepare bills to ſatisfy the wiſhes of his people, and aſſure him, that when gratified in theſe particulars, no conſtitutional queſtion would any longer exiſt to interrupt the harmony that ought to ſubſiſt between the two nations, and that Great Britain having approved their firmneſs, might alſo rely on their affection.

The lord lieutenant received the thanks of both houſes of parliament for his activity and zeal in this momentous buſineſs. The commons, in proof of their loyalty and gratitude,

voted 100,000l. to his majeſty, to enable him to raiſe 20,000 men for the navy. They likewiſe voted 5000 troops from our eſtabliſhment, to be ſent to the aſſiſtance of Great Britain.

PREVIOUS to the cloſe of this ſeſſion of parliament, the following bills received the royal aſſent. A bill to impower the lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors, and council of this kingdom for the time being, to certify all ſuch bills, and none other, as both houſes of parliament ſhould deem expedient to be enacted in this kingdom, to his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, under the great ſeal of Ireland, without addition, diminution or alteration, that all ſuch bills, thus tranſmitted and returned under the great ſeal of Great Britain, and none other, to paſs in the parliament of Ireland. No bill neceſſary to be certified into Great Britain as a cauſe or conſideration for holding a parliament in this kingdom. A bill to limit the mutiny act to two years, and to repeal the other obnoxious parts of the late act. A bill enacting, that from henceforth all erroneous judgments, orders and decrees ſhall be finally examined

examined and reformed in the high court of parliament in this kingdom only; and that for this purpoſe, the lord lieutenant or other chief governor or governors, ſhall and may grant warrants for ſealing writs of error returnable into parliament. An *habeas corpus* law, and one for rendering the judges independent of the crown, were alſo enacted. And, as many held their eſtates in this kingdom by virtue of Engliſh laws, in order to quiet their minds, an act paſſed to impreſs theſe Britiſh ſtatutes with the ſanction of the Iriſh parliament.

The following laws were enacted in favour of the catholics. In the year 1778, the catholics were impowered to take leaſes for any term of years not exceeding 999 years, or any number of lives, not exceeding five. They were now enabled to purchaſe or take by grant, limitation, deſcent, or deviſe, any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, in this kingdom, and to diſpoſe of them by will or otherwiſe, to deſcend according to the courſe of common law, deviſable and transferable in like manner as the lands of proteſtants. By the ſame law, certain penal acts reſpecting the hearing

hearing and celebrating of maſs, forbidding catholics to keep an horſe of above the value of 5l. empowering grand juries to levy from them in their reſpective diſtricts, money to the amount of ſuch loſſes as were ſuſtained by the depredations of privateers, and requiring to provide proteſtant watchmen in towns, and forbidding them to inhabit the city of Limerick or ſuburbs, were all repealed. So much of former acts as forbade them to teach ſchool publickly, or to inſtruct youth of their own profeſſion in private, was alſo repealed, and a law was enacted to permit them to have the guardianſhip, the care and tuition of their own children.

THE teſt act by which the diſſenting proteſtants were unjuſtly excluded from offices of truſt under the crown was repealed, and they are now in this reſpect reſtored to the privileges of citizens.

DURING Lord Temple's adminiſtration, diſcontents prevailed in our parliament reſpecting the repeal of the declaratory act of the 6th of George the I. But the Britiſh parliament in order to remove all doubts relative

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to their legiſlative and judicial privileges, paſſed a bill into a law, containing a full renunciation on the part of the Britiſh legiſlature, of all claims of right to interfere with the judgment of our courts, or to make laws to bind this country in future. Thus terminated a conteſt in which the ſpirit of Ireland, ſeconded by a fortunate train of concurring circumſtances, was at length crowned with ſucceſs.

In June, 1783, the Earl of Northington diſſolved the Iriſh parliament by royal proclamation, and ſummoned a new parliament to be holden at Dublin, on the 6th of September following. The chief motive which induced government to diſſolve the parliament was, to prevent the ſpirited reſolutions which they dreaded would take place at the Autumn aſſizes, for propoſing patriotic teſts to their reſpective county candidates.

A. D. 1783. The ſeſſions of 1779, in which the dawn of Ireland's emancipation appeared, may undoubtedly be conſidered as a great and memorable period of time. However it was eaſy to foreſee from the many

ny important and numerous matters that remained to be ſettled, particularly in point of regulations of trade, that the new parliament of 1783, would be one of the moſt critical and intereſting that ever aſſembled in this kingdom.

GREAT BRITAIN, after exhauſting her blood and treaſure, to no purpoſe, at length acknowledged the independence of the American ſtates, and a general peace diſſipated the ſtorms of war over the old and new world. This important revolution will convey inſtruction to diſtant ages and diſtant nations, by furniſhing an awful admonition to princes not to violate the rights of their ſubjects.

THE Northington adminiſtration oppoſed both a reform in the commons houſe of parliament, and protecting duties, wherefore every effort to effectuate theſe deſirable purpoſes proved at the time ineffectual. The ſencible regiments were reduced at this time, as they had become ſo odious to the nation, it was conſidered prudent by government to diſmiſs

miſs them. They were inſtituted for a two-old purpoſe, to create influence, and to overturn the ſpirit of volunteering.

THIS year a meeting of the volunteer delegates of Ulſter took place at Dungannon, where a ſpecific plan of a parliamentary reform was agreed to, and a convention appointed to meet at Dublin, on the 10th of November following, which was to conſiſt of five delegates from every county, and three from every city in the kingdom. At the appointed time, this national aſſembly met at the royal exchange, Dublin, and elected the Earl of Charlemont their chairman, and then proceeded to the Rotunda as the place beſt adapted for the purpoſe of the meeting; after they ſat for ſome days, they agreed to a plan of reform, which Mr. Flood introduced immediately into the houſe of commons, but it was rejected by a majority of eighty.

GOVERNMENT was at firſt ſeriouſly alarmed at the meeting of the national aſſembly, and a privy council was ſummoned to determine on the propriety of arreſting both the chairman and ſecretary of the meeting, but the

the meaſure having been conſidered hazardous, was dropped, and another expedient, much more efficacious was adopted. It was, at firſt the avowed object of the national aſſembly to comprehend the catholics in their ſcheme of reform, but government by the artifice and addreſs of ſome of their creatures in the aſſembly, had the catholics excluded in their intended plans of reform, and thus, by dividing the people on this occaſion, government obtained an eaſy triumph, which a general union of ſentiment among them, at the time, would have rendered totally impracticable. Thus the great national convention effected nothing by the narrow, confined, and illiberal plan they had formed.

We are but too apt to be over ſanguine in our expectations, upon the appointment of every new lord lieutenant, this happened to be the caſe at this time, as the ſame political ſyſtem was invariably purſued by the Rutland adminiſtration as by the former. And no man was better qualified to conduct the buſineſs of government than the lord lieutenant's ſecretary, Mr. Orde, a man well accuſtomed to the routine of buſineſs through the experience

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he derived from long profeſſional habits. A bill was brought into parliament this ſeſſion for the purpoſe of a reform in the repreſentation of the people in parliament, but the queſtion was loſt by a majority of 74 againſt the committal of the bill. Mr. Gardiner, now Lord Mountjoy) towards the cloſe of the ſeſſion moved the following reſolutions in the houſe of commons. Firſt, that many of the trading people of this kingdom were in the greateſt calamity and diſtreſs. Secondly, that the importation of foreign articles into this kingdom had conſiderably increaſed for a ſeries of years, and ſtill continued to do ſo. Thirdly, that it was neceſſary for parliament to interfere and alleviate the preſent diſtreſſes of the people, however, the meaſure was defeated. The patriotic and ſpirited reſolves of the guild of merchants, relative to a non-importation agreement, until protecting duties were obtained, proved extremely uſeful to the ſtarving manufacturers of the metropolis.

A. D. 1784. In the enſuing ſeſſion of parliament, Secretary Orde introduced a bill for a final commercial adjuſtment between Great Britain and Ireland, by way of ſubſtitute

ſubſtitute for protecting duties. At length the bill paſſed the houſe on the 12th of Auguſt 1785. But when it came before the Britiſh parliament, it was ſo changed and modified, and in ſuch ſtate tranſmitted here, that the adoption of the commercial ſyſtem would unqueſtionably have overturned the independence of the conſtitution without promoting our commercial intereſt. Wherefore Mr. Orde was obliged at length to abandon the commercial propoſitions, when he found the majority of the commons had both virtue and firmneſs to oppoſe them.

THE next of Mr. Orde's obnoxious meaſures was the police ſyſtem. Under pretext of effecting domeſtic peace and protection, a bill was introduced for the improvement of the police of the city of Dublin, but its evident object was to create patronage, and undue influence in the city; however, notwithſtanding the great and powerful oppoſition it met with, it paſſed into a law; which was deemed an invaſion of the chartered rights of the metropolis, and threw no little odium on the Rutland adminiſtration.

In

A. D. 1785. In order to gain popularity, Mr. Orde introduced a ſyſtem of education into parliament, which he probably never intended to carry into effect. The plan itſelf was partial in its principles, and limited in its extent, and Mr. Orde having ſubmitted it to the conſideration of the houſe declared that nothing final would be done until next ſeſſion of parliament. So the nation was amuſed by this plan of Mr. Orde's for a ſhort time, but the buſineſs was never after taken up. A moment's reflection will render it obvious, that if the maſs of the people is ignorant and illiterate, among ſuch a people, civilization will make but a ſlow progreſs, while idleneſs, riot, and faction; muſt be the inevitable conſequences. Wherefore until a liberal and comprehenſive ſyſtem of education is adopted in this kingdom, it cannot otherwiſe be expected, but that the lower orders of the people will be profligate, diſorderly and licentious; neither can our commerce flouriſh, our manufactures thrive, our agriculture improve; while a want of information pervades the body of the people, for without knowledge, and virtue, no nation can or ever will, become proſperous, happy

happy or civilized. Surely, then, the attention of the legiſlature ought to be turned with all poſſible expedition to this great object of national reform.

A. D. 1787. A MELANCHOLY event took place at this period. The Duke of Rutland, on his return to Dublin from an excurſion to the South of Ireland, was attacked with a feveriſh complaint, which on the 24th of October, put a period to his natural exiſtence. His many amiable and ſocial qualities cauſed him to be univerſally regretted, and his death was ſeverely felt by thoſe, who partook of his generoſity, bounty, and charity.

THE various encroachments made under his adminiſtration upon the rights and immunities of the corporation of the city of Dublin, alarmed the citizens to a conſiderable degree. As the encroachments were progreſſive they were the more alarmed. The paving and lighting of their own ſtreets, the building of a wall for the improvement of their own harbour, the police bill afforded too much

juſt

juſt cauſe for apprehenſion. But from the anſwers of the Duke of Rutland's ſucceſſor, to public addreſſes, if from ſuch language an opinion can be formed, the fulleſt aſſurances were given by the viceroy, that no further encroachments ſhould be made on the rights of the city. But the credulity of Ireland has been too long the cauſe of her depreſſion; every new adminiſtration has her immediate confidence, and ſhe never ſuſpects the miſchief, until ſhe abſolutely feels the evil.

A. D. 1787. SEVERAL bills both œconomical and conſtitutional were introduced into parliament, during this adminiſtration, and rejected; although public œconomy appeared to be the favourite object of the viceroy. The police act was continued, unneceſſary places created, and the ſcandalous barter of places and penſions carried to an enormous extent. Theſe were the virtuous actions of a viceroy who was the private orator of œconomy, although the avowed acceſſary of public profuſion. But the regency buſineſs completely overturned the former popularity of the viceroy, and haſtened his departure from the kingdom.

On the fifth of February, 1789. The lord lieutenant opened the ſeſſion of parliament by communicating the painful information, that his majeſty had been for ſome time afflicted with a ſevere malady, which rendered him incompetent to diſcharge the regal functions, and he concluded his ſpeech by ſtating, that he had directed ſuch documents as he had received reſpecting his majeſty's health, to be laid before the houſe, in order to aſſiſt their deliberations on ſo melancholy a ſubject.

A. D. 1789. In the addreſs of parliament to his excellency, they expreſſed the deepeſt concern for his majeſty's malady, and manifeſted the moſt cordial loyalty and attachment to their ſovereign, and the moſt zealous regard for the united and common intereſts of both kingdoms.

It was the avowed intention of government to procraſtinate the diſcuſſion of this melancholy and novel caſe, in order to make the meaſure of the Britiſh parliament a rule for the conduct of the Iriſh ſenate. But as the executive power was, by the viſitation of heaven totally

totally ſuſpended, the Iriſh parliament, proceeded immediately to fill up the vacancy by appointing the Prince of Wales regent during his royal father's incapacity, with full and unlimited powers. This proceeding was ſo much diſliked by the viceroy, that a diſſolution of parliament was determined on, but a ſpirited determination of the houſe of commons to paſs a ſhort money bill, completely prevented it.

Long and warm debates took place in parliament with reſpect to the mode of proceeding on this occaſion, whether by bill or addreſs. The advocates for proceeding by bill, ſtated it to be the moſt decorous and conſtitutional mode, and ſuch as had been adopted by Great Britain. That we could not appoint a regent for this kingdom until England had firſt appointed one, as the regent of Great Britain would be *ipſo facto* regent of Ireland, and that by proceeding otherwiſe, the connexion between the ſiſter kingdoms might be endangered, and a ſeparation enſue, or an union be acceded to. Thoſe who ſupported the proceeding by addreſs, urged,

that the mode was ſanctioned by the great and reſpectable precedent of the revolution. That the doctrines of the regent of Great Britain being *ipſo facto* regent of Ireland, was ſubverſive of the free agency of the Iriſh parliament, a libel on the independence of Ireland, and an outrage on the people. To ſay, that the king of Great Britain, and not the king of Ireland was the ſovereign of this country, was only to make the name of the Britiſh king a ſubject of ſophiſtry, and an inſtrument of humiliation to Ireland's imperial crown. That to proceed by bill was unconſtitutional, becauſe the two houſes of parliament could not make a law. That in ſuch melancholy caſes as the preſent, the two houſes ſpeak only by addreſs.

At length the mode by addreſs was carried in both houſes of parliament. But the lord lieutenant having been waited upon, declined to tranſmit the addreſs of both houſes of parliament to his royal highneſs the Prince of Wales, and declined taking charge of the ſame in a written anſwer, which is as follows. "That under the impreſſions which I feel of

"my

" my official duty, and of the oath I have tak-
" en as chief governor of Ireland, I am oblig-
" ed to decline tranſmitting this addreſs to
" Great Britain; for I cannot conſider myſelf
" warranted to lay before the Prince of Wales
" an addreſs, purporting to inveſt his royal
" highneſs with powers to take upon him the
" government of this realm before he ſhall
" be enabled by law ſo to do."

On the viceroy's refuſal to tranſmit the addreſs, both houſes of parliament deputed ſix members, two from the lords and four from the commons, to preſent the addreſs of both houſes to his royal highneſs the Prince of Wales. And on the motion of Mr. Grattan, the following vote was carried in the houſe of commons; " That his ex-
" cellency the lord lieutenant's anſwer to
" the meſſage of both houſes of parliament,
" requeſting him to tranſmit into England
" their addreſs to the Prince of Wales, con-
" tains an unwarrantable and unconſtitutional
" cenſure on both houſes; and attempts to
" queſtion the undoubted privileges, of the
" lords ſpiritual and temporal, and of the
" commons of Ireland."

THUS the proceedings were legalized, and the conſtitutional independence of the nation maintained and ſupported. The conſequent convaleſcence of the ſovereign ſhortly enſued, and rendered his royal highneſs's acceptance of the regency of Ireland unneceſſary. His anſwer to the Iriſh deputies who waited on him with the addreſs, will remain on the journals of parliament as a record honourable to the prince, and flattering to the parliament, and will never periſh but with the annals of our country.

IF we pauſe for a moment to look back for a few years on the encreaſing enormous expence of the nation, the retroſpect may be attended with uſeful information. With a view to the adjuſtment of the commercial arrangements with Great Britain, in the year 1785, new duties to a conſiderable amount were impoſed, for the purpoſe of equalizing the revenue with the expences of the nation, yet there appears by the report of the committee of accounts in each ſubſequent year, a deficiency of revenue, amounting at Lady Day, 1789,

to

to 413,414l. which makes an average deficency in each year of 103,353l. without including fractional parts.

Now when the current expences of the nation exceed its revenue by at leaſt 100,000l. a year, the progreſs of the evil ought to be checked as ſoon as poſſible, and a real and permanent equalization becomes eſſentially neceſſary. If we were to contraſt the price of collecting the revenues of Ireland with that of Great Britain, we would find that a conſiderable reduction ought to take place, as the abuſe in that department is truly ſhameful. The groſs revenue of Ireland ſtands the nation for collecting, nearly 17 and a half per cent. That of Great Britain comes to about 7 and an half per Cent: The diſparity is ſo conſiderable as unqueſtionably demands the ſerious inveſtigation of parliament.

Indeed the attention of one of our diſtinguiſhed ſenators, was for a conſiderable time directed to this object without being able to effect any thing of moment; although the ſureſt

ſureſt reſources in this country, are a ſimplification of taxes, and a reformation in the collection of them.

WHEREFORE, it is high time to deviſe a plan to ſtop the further accumulation of debt, otherwiſe a general bankruptcy or intolerable oppreſſion will be the inevitable conſequences. Previous to the Marquis of Buckingham's departure, the total charge and debt of the nation amounted to 3,382,787l. 5s. 9d. Total credit, 1,127,032l. 11s. conſequently the debt of the nation amounted to 2,240,204l. 14s. and this debt will be perpetually encreaſing, and our burthens and taxes alſo, unleſs a permanent ſinking fund is immediately founded for the redemption of public debts. Additional taxes will raiſe the neceſſaries of life, and check our manufactures, and be productive of idleneſs and immorality among the people, as government muſt encourage or at leaſt connive at exceſſive expence among the people, which evidently tends to corrupt their manners, and diminiſh their numbers. Wherefore to prevent thoſe evils, the national

debt

debt ought to be diminiſhed by the application of an annual ſpecific ſum, invariably applied to the reduction thereof.

THE Marquis of Buckingham became ſo diſagreeable to the nation, that he thought it prudent to retire from the adminiſtration of the kingdom, having previouſly appointed lords juſtices in his room, until the arrival of a new lord lieutenant; an event which did not take place until the fifth of January in the following year.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI

Opening the Parliament on the 21ſt of January, 1790—A candid Satement of the Situation of the Kingdom for five Years back.—Mr. Forbes's Motion of œconomy rejected—A Motion with reſpect to the Influence of the Crown loſt—A Motion of Mr. Grattan's, relative to the Sale of the Peerage defeated by a Majority in Parliament—The bill againſt the Police Inſtitution and the Place Bill rejected—A motion againſt Fiats attended with good effect, altho not carried—A Reſponſibility Bill and Penſion Bill defeated—The Parliament diſſolved by Royal Proclamation—A new one ſummoned to meet at Dublin—A wonderful Revolution effected in the French Monarchy—On Friday, the 2d of July, 1790—the new Parliament meet—Elect Mr. Foſter for their Speaker—A Vote of Credit for the ſum of 200,000l. granted by Parliament on account of the apprehenſion of a Spaniſh War—Obſervations on the exceſſive Uſe of Spirituous Liquors—How to reſtrain it, and the Reſolutions of the Commons on that Subject—Mr. Grattan endeavours to open our Trade

Trade to the Countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, but the Meaſure is ſacrificed to the Monolopy of the Eaſt India Company— Ineffectual Efforts to aboliſh the Police Syſtem— Mr. George Ponſonby moved that a Committee ſhould be appointed to take into Conſideration a Motion relative to the Importation of Tea into Ireland, in order to the Enjoyment of a Trade to the Eaſt Indies— His Motion was not carried—The Place Bill, introduced the third Time by Mr. Foſter, rejected—The Bill for diſqualifying Revenue Officers from voting at Elections introduced by Mr. Grattan, rejected—A Bill paſſed into a Law to regulate the iſſuing of Licences ſelling Spirituous Liquors and reſtraining the exceſſive Uſe thereof.

A. D. 1790. THE Earl of Weſtmoreland ſucceeded the Marquis of Buckingham, in the adminiſtration of this country, at a period truly critical. The general abhorrence of the late government held out an inſtructive leſſon to the new, how to avoid ſimilar execration. During the five laſt years an encreaſe of 200,000l. a year, was added

to

to the national expence. However part of this encreaſe can be juſtified. A great part of the army of this country which in 1784 ſerved the Empire abroad, and were paid by Great Britain, but ſince that period having returned to Ireland, they were paid by us, this augmented the expence of the nation in a ſum of 66,000l. a year. A large ſum was paid by way of compenſation to the officers of the Cavalry who were in 1789 reduced to dragoon guards. Public buildings added much to the national expence. The transfer of money to the bank, as compenſation, was made to thoſe who ſuffered by that transfer, likewiſe ſwelled the public accounts; the eſtabliſhment of an Iriſh poſt-office a circumſtance both of honour and emolument to the country, had alſo cauſed an expence of the annual ſeſſions was alſo to be included, together with the bounties paid by government for the encouragement of trade, tillage manufactures and fiſheries of the kingdom.

But after every fair deduction and candid allowance are made, ſtill the encreaſe is enormous in ſo ſhort a period. Part of this encreaſe is to be aſcribed to the civil liſt, and the

the moſt exceptionable part of the civil liſt, the penſion liſt. A new penſion liſt was the return made for the new taxes granted on an engagement to equalize. Theſe penſions the nation was not able to pay, nor the miniſter to juſtify. The commons propoſed to ſtrike off the obnoxious penſions, but were reſiſted by government, a limitation of the penſion liſt was oppoſed, and the ſecretary, who had contributed to its encreaſe, became the object of its reward. A lord lieutenant's ſecretary has no official pretenſion to an Iriſh proviſion. In Great Britain they do not uſually penſion their ſecretaries; the late lord Chatham was penſioned for conquering France, and if Ireland were the natural foe of Great Britain ſome of her ſecretaries would have ſimilar pretenſions.

In 1783, the ſalary of both viceroy and ſecretary were raiſed, wherefore the penſion alluded to was the more improper. This evil was aggravated by the grant of the beſt reverſion in the country to another abſentee ſecretary, the brother of the late viceroy. This meaſure was highly improper, becauſe the nation had paid immoderate compenſation to buy and bring home

home abſentee employments. The civil liſt had encreaſed, during the five years we allude to, upwards of 30,000l. The military liſt had encreaſed 100,000l. a year. A part of this charge is transfer, but a great part is not. The ſtatement ſubmitted to parliament by the late viceroy was erroneous, it ſet up a temporary reduced expence againſt a perpetual expence incurred; neither the expence nor object were avowed; and the effect has been, more troops for the plantations. So great an addition during the time of peace to the military expence of the nation, made every unneceſſary addition to her civil expences doubly criminal.

The collection of the revenue encreaſed, including the poſt office, above 100,000l. in the courſe of five years. In ſtating the expence of government, we muſt not omit the police, and charge it to the account of the late viceroy as well as to the adminiſtration who deviſed it, for he continued it. Government rejected a reſolution declaratory of the extravagance of the police, and rejected the report of the police committee, under a full conviction of its veracity; the report ſubſtantiated the ſcheme of prodigality, and the rejection of that

that report proved the government an accomplice. The ſubſequent reductions that took place in the police, in conſequence of the report, were only a peace offering to reconcile the public to the miniſter's object in the police, an unconſtitutional influence in the corporation of the metropolis, and a place army to encourage his partizans.

THE office of ſecond counſel to the commiſſioners was revived, and two new commiſſioners of the revenue appointed. The Engliſh laws exclude the commiſſioners from ſitting in parliament. But the government of Ireland makes men commiſſioners becauſe they have ſeats in parliament.

THE next meaſure of influence and expence was the appointment of two commiſſioners of the rolls on the ſame principle of encreaſing the influence of the crown. The late lord lieutenant divided the boards of ſtamps and accounts; after encreaſing the charges of the eſtabliſhment; he appropriated a board for the purpoſe of ſuperintending the public expence, and made that appointment a violation

lation of its own principle, and one of the great jobs of his government.

THE board of accounts, when firſt eſtabliſhed, was by many thought uſeleſs; but to give it the colour of utility, the miniſter declared in parliament that he would annex the collection of the ſtamps to the board of accounts, and his declaration was followed by the tax, and then carried into execution. Afterwards it was thought proper to advance the ſalary of the commiſſioners of accounts for the joint and additional labours. Theſe boards are now divided, five officers of ſtamps, and five commiſſioners of accounts. The commiſſioners, however diſpoſed to œconomy, had it not in their power to be of any great advantage; they might examine vouchers, and controul tradeſmen's bills, but the miniſter, the great political jobber, him they could not touch; they could not check.

A PENSION bill and place bill were rejected; theſe meaſures were reſiſted, when government were dividing boards, ſplitting ſinecures and multiplying offices; and at one and the ſame time reſiſting the bills by their influence,

influence, and making them neceſſary by their tranſgreſſions. Perhaps the conduct of the late viceroy was a criſis in the public diſorder to mature the public remedy; as the ſpecific owes its diſcovery to the diſeaſe; and ſome patriot government, on the ruins of his regulations in the re-aſcending ſcale of liberty may aſſent to ſuch conſtitutional meaſures, as may give relief to our injured community.

THE late viceroy ſuppreſſed the office of one of the vice treaſurers, which certainly was a ſaving to the country. But in making this reduction, the viceroy faſtened on the Earl of Shannon, the only Iriſhman that was to be found in the liſt of vice treaſurers, and leaving Engliſhmen in peaceable poſſeſſion, deprived a nobleman of his office, who, in addition to the emoluments of that office, conſtantly ſpent in Ireland an ample fortune, in a manner honourable to himſelf and uſeful to his country.

IRELAND was at this time placed in a ſort of interval between the expiration of a ſyſtem of oppreſſion, and the formation of a ſyſtem of corruption. To prevent the growth of the latter, Mr. Forbes early in the ſeſſion of this year

moved, "That an humble addreſs be pre-
"ſented to his majeſty, ſtating, that the houſe
"having taken into conſideration the income
"and expenditure of the nation, found them-
"ſelves obliged to lay before him certain abu-
"ſes and miſapplications of a conſiderable
"portion of the public revenues. That the
"liſt of penſions on the 21ſt of January, 1789,
"appears to have encreaſed to the ſum of
"101,000l. excluſive of the military pen-
"ſions, which amounted to 6500l. a ſum
"nearly equal to half the charges of the civil
"eſtabliſhment. That the penſions placed on
"the civil and military eſtabliſhments ſince
"the 24th of February 1784, excluſive of
"thoſe granted in lieu or exchange of for-
"mer penſions, amounted to 29,800l. that
"the amount of penſions on the civil eſta-
"bliſhment had encreaſed ſince the 25th of
"March, 1784, in the ſum of 16,000l. that
"many of thoſe penſions had been granted to
"members of parliament, during the pleaſure
"of the crown, in violation of the principles
"of the conſtitution and honour of the houſe
"of commons. That a number of new and
"additional ſalaries, in the nature of penſions,
"had of late been annexed, not only to old
offices

" offices which had become obſolete and uſe-
" leſs, but alſo to leſſer offices moſtly ſinecure,
" or hitherto conſidered of ſo inſignificant a
" nature, as to entitle the holders of ſuch of-
" fices to very ſmall ſalaries. That an addi-
" tion of 300l. a year had been lately granted
" to the ſalary of the cuſtomer of Kinſale, to
" commence from the 29th of September,
" 1789, and a further addition of 200l. pay-
" ble on a contingency; both for the life of
" the preſent poſſeſſor: an office which for
" years had been conſidered as uſeleſs and ob-
" ſolete, to which not only no duty whatſoever
" was annexed, nor any attendance neceſſary.
" That an addition of 400l. a year had been
" lately granted to the comptroller of the pipe,
" though 53l. 10s. had for years been conſi
" dered as an adequate compenſation for the
" diſcharge of the duties of that office. That
" an addition of 150l. a year, had alſo been
" lately granted to the barrack maſter of Dub
" lin. That the perſons to whom thoſe addi-
" tional ſalaries had been granted, were all
" members of the houſe of commons, and
" humbly beſeeching his majeſty to interpoſe
" to reſtrain the progreſs of a ſyſtem of ex
" pence, which would ſoon induce a neceſ-

"ſity of reſorting to new loans, and of im-
"poſing new taxes." This motion on a diviſion of the houſe was loſt by a majority of 44. A motion relative to the influence of the crown was alſo loſt by a conſiderable majority.

It is painful to take a view of the fate of Ireland from the firſt of its hiſtory to the preſent day. Antecedent to the reign of Henry II. barbariſm pervaded the land, except what weak illuminations were caſt upon it for a time by monkiſh learning. From thence to the American war, ignominious obſcurity was its fate, and the name of Ireland was not to be found in the hiſtoric page, except where ſome rebellion or maſſacre had brought it into notice.

We are now, it is true, an independent kingdom. We have an imperial crown, diſtinct from Great Britain. But it is a mere metaphyſical diſtinction, for we are governed by Engliſh miniſters or their agents who never dare aſpire to the dignity of any great ſentiment of their own. Ireland may pride herſelf

ſelf on being a great kingdom, but the fact is ſhe is ſcarcely known beyond the boundaries of her own ſhores. What name have we among the nations of Europe? What notice have foreign ſtates of us? Where are our negociators or our ambaſſadors? We ſacrifice every thing to our connexion with Great Britain that can tend to our conſequence, our fame, and our glory. We forego every thing that is great and aſpiring, and reſt ſatisfied with our humble and obſcure ſituation. And what compenſation do we require? A virtuous and frugal government. We are freed, no doubt, from the expences of fleets, of foreign miniſters, and all the ſpendid appendages of empire, while we are exhauſted by jobbing, prodigality and rapine.

THERE exiſts, an arrogance which treats the people of this kingdom, like a ſort of inferior beings, and perhaps too many of our cringing countrymen may have contributed to promote the idea, but this is by no means, the national characteriſtic, as Ireland contains men of as high minds, as any nation in its vicinity can boaſt of.

UNDUE

UNDUE influence may bear miniſters through in ordinary times, but when the day of difficulty or danger arrives, the effects of this debaſing ſyſtem will be felt. What a figure did the government of this country often make during the American war? What a figure did the government recently make on the regency buſineſs?

"WE are now an independent kingdom; the laws of England can no longer reſtrain us, but the Engliſh miniſter, by an encreaſe of influence, is endeavouring to eſtabliſh a controul over this nation, as great as that which was lately relinquiſhed by Great Britain. But ſuch depraved policy will not be tolerated by Ireland, ſhe is entitled to it, and muſt have an honeſt and frugal adminiſtration, a meaſure that will prove the proſperity of Ireland, and the ſalvation of Great Britain.

MR. GRATTAN moved on the 20th of February, "that a ſelect committee be appointed to enquire in the moſt ſolemn manner, whether the late or preſent adminiſtration had entered into any corrupt agreement with any perſon or perſons to recommend ſuch perſon

or

or perſons to his majeſty, as fit and proper perſons to be by him made peers of this realm, in conſideration of ſuch perſon or perſons giving certain ſums of money to be laid out in procuring the return of members to ſerve in parliament, contrary to the rights of the people, inconſiſtent with the independence of parliament, and in violation of the fundamental laws of the land."

Mr. Grattan pledged himſelf to convict government of the meaſure, and dared them to the enquiry in a ſtile of the moſt mortifying and humiliating defiance. Government, conſcious of the iniquity of the meaſure, avoided entering into the enquiry on the ground, that common fame ought not to become the ſubject of enquiry, and that the queſtion related to the exerciſe of his majeſty's prerogative; and on the queſtion being put on Mr. Grattan's motion, it was loſt by a majority of 56 in favour of government.

Mr. Hartley, on the 24th of February moved the houſe of commons to come to the following reſolution, "That the eſtabliſhment of

the

" the police had been expenſive, and not ade-
" quate to the protection of the ſubject; and
" that owing to the operation of the police bill,
" and the number of aldermen of the city of
" Dublin having been elected commiſſioners
" of, and diviſional juſtices in this eſtabliſh-
" ment, the magiſtracy and corporation of the
" city, have been leſs reſpectable in the eyes
" of the citizens."

THIS reſolution was made by a member who had long repreſented the city with honour, and now retiring from the repreſentation of it, made this laſt motion, in which he proteſted againſt the police on the part of his conſtituents and himſelf; but his motion proved unſucceſsful, as government determined to ſupport the inſtitution in direct oppoſition to the wiſhes of the citizens.

A PLACE bill was introduced into parliament to guard againſt the influence of the crown, but it was borne down by the weight of numbers only. Great Britain had experienced the ſalutary effects of a place bill, for upwards of eighty years; it was a principle interwoven with the revolution, and conſider-

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conſidered as eſſential to the preſervation of the liberties of the people. But the neceſſity for adopting the meaſure in this kingdom became of late years indiſpenſibly neceſſary, particularly ſince the laſt ſeſſion of the Iriſh parliament, not leſs than fourteen new places had been created, and beſtowed upon members of the houſe of commons.

GOVERNMENT ſeemed determined to carry every meaſure by the ſtrong hand of power and undue influence. It was obſerved on the ſide of adminiſtration, that a ſtrong government was neceſſary for Ireland. Miniſters repreſented the people as turbulent and diſaffected, and therefore wiſhed for a ſtrong government inſtead of a good one. But what in the hiſtory of this country could warrant ſuch an aſſertion? Let us attend to the facts of our hiſtory.

FROM the revolution, to the American war, never was there a country ſo oppreſſed as Ireland, and yet no country was ever more tranquilly conducted. During the whole of that long period, when England was involved in various wars, and even when the rebellious

ſpirit

ſpirit of Scotland ſounded to arms, Ireland continued in poverty and peace. In the late war, when Great Britain was engaged againſt America, againſt the combination of all the powers of Europe; when all nations confederated againſt her, ſome to ſtrip her of her territories, others to be paſſive ſpectators of her ruin; Ireland gave up her troops almoſt to the laſt man, for the defence of Great Britain, and armed voluntarily to protect herſelf.

Instead of taking advantage of the ſituation of Great Britain, and retaliating for the oppreſſion of a century, Ireland only claimed her ancient rights and conſtitution. Was this a foundation for aſſerting that a ſtrong government was neceſſary to rule this country? ſhall Engliſh miniſters call us turbulent and factious in oppoſition to the facts recorded in the hiſtory of our government? but ſuch a character is our reward, after peaceably ſubmitting to a century of uſurpation.

If Ireland gains conſiderable advantages from her connexion with Great Britain; Great

Britain

Britain alſo gains great advantages from her connection with Ireland; in wealth above a million a year by abſentees, in power near four millions of people, with the great ſupplies they afford to her navy and army; to her ſtrength in the eaſt, to her force in the weſt; added to all theſe, the convenience of her harbours, with all the advantages which this country brings, not only as a portion of the empire, but as her ally at her door, on all occaſions ready to aſſiſt her. And is the retribution for ſuch ſervices and loyalty, to be ſuſpicion, oppreſſion. police laws, riot acts, taxation, corruption, detraction. Is he a friend to Great Britain who authorizes this ungenerous policy? No, he is an enemy to both Kingdoms

A PRACTICE had of late prevailed, of iſſuing writs for large ſums of money in actions of ſlander, where no ſpecific injury was ſtated in the affidavit, on which ſuch action was founded. With a view to remedy this injury, Mr. George Ponſonby in a committee appointed for the purpoſe, propoſed a reſolution to the following effect, "That it is the opinion of this

" this committee, that the iſſuing of writs " from the courts of juſtice in actions of ſlan- " der or defamation, where the ſum of da- " mages could not be fairly aſcertained, " and holding perſons to ſpecial bail in " exceſſive ſums, is illegal and ſubverſive " of the liberty of the ſubject."

ALTHOUGH this vote of cenſure was not carried, it was attended with beneficial conſequences, as the iſſuing of fiats, and requiring exceſſive bail in actions of defamation, were reſtrained by it within conſtitutional bounds. A place bill, a penſion bill, and one for diſqualifying revenue officers from voting at general elections were ſeverally rejected, and a reſponſibility bill ſhared a ſimilar fate.

IT would be ſuperfluous to comment on the conduct of government during this ſeſſion; facts ſpeak for themſelves and require no illuſtration. Beſides, it would be an extremely painful taſk to paſs a cenſure on living men and living meaſures. But juſtice and impartiality cannot avoid paſſing a ſevere reprehenſion on ſuch conduct as neither

neither can be juſtified nor excuſed on any principle whatſoever; and can only be imputed to theſe miſtaken rules of policy, which for a ſeries of years, weakly imagined, that Ireland would ſubmit to the tyranic government of the Britiſh Cabinet; a ſyſtem, which, if much purſued, might prove as fatal to Great Britain as injurious to Ireland, and would inevitably terminate in the diſſolution of the connection between the two kingdoms, which their mutual intereſt requires to be ſo carefully preſerved.

On the fifth of April, the parliament was prorogued to the fifth day of June following. And ſoon after the prorogation took place, the parliament was diſſolved by royal proclamation, and a new parliament ſummoned to meet at Dublin on the twentieth of May one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety.

If we turn our eyes for a moment from the hurry, buſtle, noiſe, riot and corruption, incident to general elections; to the continent of Europe, we will there behold a great revolution effected in the French govern-

ment

ment without either bloodſhed or any conſiderable commotion. In France, twenty ſix millions of people were governed by laws, to which their conſent was never aſked; ariſtocracy and deſpotiſm triumphed over the land; the people at length made a ſtruggle for freedom, and in the effort they burſt their chains, while the image of public liberty ſat enthroned on the altar conſecrated by tyranny to public ſlavery.

The French monarchy was in moſt reſpects aſſimilated to the Britiſh ſyſtem of government, while the monarch with all ranks and deſcriptions of Frenchmen, ſolemnly pledged themſelves to maintain their new government ſacred and inviolate; and happy would it have been for themſelves and the reſt of Europe, had they adhered to their engagements.

On the ſecond of July, in this year, the the commons met, 253 members were all that were as yet returned. A meſſage was delivered from his excellency the lord lieutenant, requeſting their attendance in the houſe of peers, to which the commons having

having repaired, were commanded by his excellency to return to their own houſe, and elect a ſpeaker. When the commons returned. Mr. Secretary Hobart roſe, and propoſed that the right honourable John Foſter, ſhould take the chair of this aſſembly, Mr. Hobart ſaid, that the right honourable gentleman he put in nomination, was choſen by the unanimous election of the laſt parliament, and had acquitted himſelf with ſo much ſatisfaction to the houſe, that his knowledge and experience in the conduct of all matters for parliamentary diſcuſſion rendered him in every reſpect perfectly eligible, he begged leave to add, that on the cloſe of the laſt parliament. He received the unanimous thanks of the houſe, and he truſted, their approbation at that time, would be the earneſt of their choice at this period.

Mr. Connolly moved as an amendment, "That inſtead of the Right Hon. John Foſter, "the name of the Right Hon. William "Brabazon Ponſonby be inſerted. The "queſtion being put by the clerk the amend-

ment

"ment was negatived, and Mr. Hobart's "motion in favour of Mr. Foſter was car-"ried."

When Mr. Foſter was elected, he in a few words returned thanks to the houſe for this freſh mark of the confidence repoſed in him, and aſſured them of his unremitting attention to the duties of the chair, as the beſt mode of his gratitude for the honour for which they were pleaſed to diſtinguiſh him. The choice of the commons having been approved by his excellency the lord lieutenant, the parliament was then opened by a ſpeech from the throne.

It muſt be admitted that no man is better calculated than Mr. Foſter to fill the important office of ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, and few men have ſtronger claims on the regard and affections of his countrymen. Our trade, our agriculture, and particularly our linen manufacture, owe much to his care, knowledge, and protection; and his conduct, while chancellor of the exchequer, was ſuch, as juſtly merited the thanks of parliament and the gratitude of the nation.

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In the ſpeech from the throne, the two houſes of parliament were informed that two Britiſh veſſels had been captured at Nootka Sound, on the north weſt coaſt of America by the Spaniards, that their cargoes were ſeized, and the officers and crew were ſent as priſoners to a Spaniſh port. That his majeſty had directed his miniſter at Madrid to claim ſuch full and adequate ſatisfaction as the nature of the caſe required, but if, unfortunately, his majeſty's endeavours on this occaſion ſhould prove unſucceſsful, he fully relied on the cordial and effectual ſupport of his parliament of Ireland, in the proſecution of ſuch meaſures, as might eventually become neceſſary for the honour of the crown, and for the protection of the eſſential rights of all his ſubjects, and the common intereſts of the empire.

In conſequence of this intimation from the throne, a vote of credit to the amount of 200,000l. paſſed the houſe, in order to put the kingdom in a ſtate of defence, and towards raiſing men for his majeſty's

navy, for fortifying our harbours, and putting our ordnance on a more efficient footing.

It muſt be admitted, that a vote of credit is a mode of aſſiſting government extremely exceptionable, in as much, as it places the diſpoſal of a large ſum in the hands of adminiſtration, who may convert the vote of credit to any purpoſe, particularly where the application of it was not ſpecifically recited.

In the year 1778, during the French war, the houſe of commons paſſed a vote for 300,000l. for putting this country in a ſtate of defence, and in January of the following year, there not being a ſhilling in the treaſury, government was obliged to borrow 50,000l. from an individual, in order to pay the army.

Ireland had granted 150,000l. to equalize her revenue with her expences, and to put a ſtop to the pernicious practice of running into debt, wherefore parliament, in time of peace, ought never to paſs a vote of credit

dit, unleſs the application of the ſum was particularly guarded, and the ſpecified purpoſe of the vote avowed.

The ſeſſions cloſed on the 24th. of July, and parliament did not meet until the January following. Early in the enſuing ſeſſion of parliament the commons reſolved, that the exceſſive uſe of ſpirituous liquors was highly injurious to the health and morals of the people; this reſolution was broughtforwar dbyMr. David Latouche, which redounds much to his credit, the immoderate uſe of ſpirituous liquors, having arrived at that enormous exceſs throughout the kingdom, as threatened unleſs ſpeedily checked by the intervention of parliament, completely to ruin the induſtry, ſubvert the morals, and deſtroy the health of the people.

By putting a ſtop to this alarming evil, many conceived that tillage and the revenue would ſuffer conſiderably, but even ſhould that happen it would be better to ſacrifice both for the benefit of the human ſpecies. No falſe alarm for either revenue or agriculture ſhould impede the progreſs of ſo ſa-

lutary meaſure. Two modes were propoſed for reſtraining the immoderate uſe of of ſpirits; firſt by diſcouraging the diſtillery; the ſecond, by encouraging the brewery and the latter ſeemed to be the moſt probable mode of ſucceſs.

It was evident that the brewery had been on the decline for a number of years which was entirely owing to ſome radical defect in the ſyſtem of laws by which it was regulated. Some of theſe laws were made many years ago, ſome were made within a few years, and however calculated they were for the benefit of the brewery, yet they had all failed of their effect; therefore, in order to encourage the brewery effectually, all reſtrictions and all exciſe ſhould be removed, and brewers put on the ſame footing with other manufacturers. Reſtrictions undoubtedly have been the cauſe of the decay of the brewery, it is now neceſſary to remove them all, a decreaſing trade requires ſtrong remedies, wherefore the brewery ought to be freed from every mode of duty which is attended with penal reſtrictions.

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THE exciſe brings with it ſuch a code of penal regulations as muſt keep it down. Men who have ſmarted under ſevere reſtraints, and have retired, will never return to the buſineſs, while any reſtraints remain; and men of large capital will not embark in a buſineſs, in which the eſtabliſhed habits of connivance, between the exciſe officer and the manufacturer, give to every perſon who will condeſcend to ſo mean an intercourſe, ſuch an advantage over the honeſt man, as would deprive him of his reaſonable profit.

THESE habits ought to be overturned by the removal of all officers and all duties; then the honeſt man would be ſafe, and when he ſaw that he could reap the full advantage of his ſkill and ingenuity, he would embark his capital in the buſineſs with alacrity. Shall it be argued againſt this, that the revenue would loſe by this regulation between 60 or 70,000l. a year. We hope the country is not in ſo low a ſtate that it could not by other means raiſe ſuch a ſum annually in order to ſave the great object of tillage, of morals, and of induſtry from ruin. God forbid that any perſon ſhould think ſo meanly of our reſources,

ſources, with an encreaſing trade, a flouriſhing commerce, and enlarging manufactures.

If the legiſlature encouraged the brewery, the uſe of ſpirits would decreaſe, and ſtrong beer would prove a ſubſtitute to comfort and conſole the people for the loſs of their deſtructive luxury; long habits are not eaſily changed, and to make the people reliſh beer, they muſt be induced to it by its cheapneſs and its ſtrength. It is vain to imagine that the total uſe of ſpirits can be aboliſhed, but the pernicious abuſe of it may; and good malt liquor would effect this without either force or penalty. In a northern moiſt climate and damp ſoil, men require a potent beverage

In Great Britain no ſhop is licenced merely for the purpoſe of dram ſelling, as is the practice in this kingdom as no perſon is licenced there to ſell ſpirits, who does not keep an inn, tavern, or ordinary; a ſimilar regulation would be attended with good conſequences in this country. The ſuppreſſion of the immoderate uſe of ſpirits, is a ſubject of the greateſt importance to the proſperity, the welfare and happineſs of the kingdom; and it ought to be the wiſh of every man, to endeavour to effect it.

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THE committee of the whole houſe, to whom it was referred; to take into conſideration the exceſſive uſe of ſpirituous liquors, came to the following reſolutions, which were unanimouſly agreed to, by the houſe. That it is the opinion of the committee that the principal cauſe of the exceſſive uſe of ſpirituous liquors, is the low price thereof. That to remedy ſaid evil, it is adviſeable to impoſe ſuch duty or duties as may prevent the exceſſive conſumption of ſpirituous liquors, among the lower orders of the people. That it would contribute to reſtrain the exceſſive uſe of ſpirits, if the number of perſons retailing the ſame were greatly diminiſhed, and if licences ſhould be confined to houſes of a certain deſcription. That it would tend to diminiſh the conſumption of ſpirits if conſiderable encouragement were given to the brewery, and that a decided preference ſhould be given the brewery in point of duty over the diſtillery, whereby the brewer might be left free from certain reſtrictions now affecting the brewery.

MR. GEORGE PONSONBY moved, that a committee might be appointed, conſiſting of members who did not hold place or penſion, to enquire

quire and report their opinion; what advantage the public had received from the appointment of two additional commiſſioners to the board of revenue; but this meaſure was diſcuſſed on ſimilar grounds with that of the preceding ſeſſion, and was at length negatived by a conſiderable majority.

When Mr. Latouche firſt introduced the meaſure for ſuppreſſing the uſe of ſpirituous liquors, he expected the concurrence of government, notwithſtanding, nothing decided was done in favour of the brewery, but what might be conſidered as a ground for taxation. An additional duty was laid on whiſkey, but it was ineffectual, as the encouragement held out to the brewer could anſwer very little purpoſe.

The brewery ought to have been entirely exempted from all exciſe whatſoever, and an addition to the malt tax acceded to. Government certainly had laid the foundation of a revenue, but they had not provided for the ſobriety of the people; little was done for the brewer and the diſtiller had been put under an additional tax. Mr. David Latouche gave notice, that he would introduce a bill

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next ſeſſion of parliament to effect his purpoſe, and that he would perſevere in the buſineſs until accompliſhed.

Mr. GRATTAN endeavoured to procure a trade to the Eaſt Indies, free to the people of Ireland, but the meaſure being oppoſed by government, was conſequently defeated, as were many other bills of the utmoſt utility to the nation. The police eſtabliſhment was continued, notwithſtanding the cleareſt and moſt unequivocal proofs were adduced to ſhew that the ſyſtem was attended with conſiderable expence, without having produced adequate advantages. The police ſyſtem had been repeatedly proved to be inefficient in point of protection, extravagant in point of taxation, and dangerous, from its influence on the magiſtracy of the capital.

IN London the citizens are perfectly protected by their ſyſtem, without the danger of patronage, or the ruin of profuſion. But in London the object of government is the protection of the people: in Dublin, it is patronage and corruption. In the one city, a re-

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ſpect to the laws is inculcated; In the other, an increaſe of revenue is exacted at the expence of morality.

From the numerous petitions againſt the police ſyſtem, it appeared, that taxation and protection did not go together, and that a more efficacious and permanent ſecurity could be obtained at leſs than one half of the expence. The ſentiments of the citizens on this ſubject appeared ſtrongly in their late ſtruggle for their lord mayor; they triumphed without availing themſelves of the gracious permiſſion to go to law for three years, to eſtabliſh a one year's title, paſt and gone in the firſt year's litigation.

In the police inſtitution, the magiſtrate, by charter, becomes the commiſſioned officer of adminiſtration, and the authority he derived from election, merged in new powers veſted by the miniſter. What he derived from the citizens he holds independent of their will; what he obtained from government he held dependent on his pleaſure. Mr. George Ponſonby with a view to open a direct trade with India, moved that

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ſeveral acts of his preſent majeſty relative to the importation of tea into this kingdom, ſhould be taken into the conſideration of a committee of the whole houſe. All the acts alluded to go to one object, that no tea ſhall be imported into this kingdom, but from England. It was univerſally allowed on all hands, that Ireland had an undoubted right to a free commerce with the world, but this muſt ſurely be conſidered an illuſion ſo long as there exiſted in Great Britain, a power, to influence the legiſlature of this kingdom, to prevent the nation from the exerciſe of a right ſo juſt and unequivocal.

IRELAND unqueſtionably poſſeſſing a free trade, ought not to be excluded by a clauſe in her own revenue bill, from exerciſing the enjoyment of trade in a direct communication with China. Mr. Ponſonby's motion purpoſed to bring thoſe clauſes before the conſideration of parliament. It was aſſerted on the ſide of adminiſtration, that Ireland had a right to trade with China, but that we had conſigned the exerciſe of it to the Eaſt India company, by which it would

would appear that Ireland had contended long for a free trade, only to have the pleaſure of ſurrendering it.

It was aſſerted, that the trade to China was unprofitable, that Ireland was unable to avail herſelf of the trade, and moreover, that it would be a matter of delicacy towards Great Britain. If the inability of the country really exiſted, ſhe could not long purſue it, and therefore the dread of ill conſequences to England would be ruin.

If the trade to China ſhould turn out to be a loſing one, by draining our ſpecie by an importation of luxury without promoting our commerce: then two conſiderations would ſuggeſt themſelves, whether the kingdom could diſpenſe with this luxury, and if not, how it could be imported with leaſt loſs. Tea is allowed to be an indiſpenſible article of import, and every man muſt allow, that it can be imported with leſs national impoveriſhment directly from China, than through the medium of Great Britain. There cannot exiſt a doubt but Ireland is capable of carrying on a trade to the Eaſt, and from a conſi-

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deration of what ſhe owes Great Britain, and what ſhe owes herſelf, there cannot exiſt a doubt but it was expedient to do ſo.

But could Ireland ſee only the moſt diſtant advantage, that in future might be derived from this trade, it would be weakneſs to relinquiſh it, out of compliment to the Eaſt-India company. On Mr. Ponſonby's motion being put, it was negatived by a majority of 57.

Mr. Forbes introduced his place bill this ſeſſion for the third time, and after having ſupported it, with an irreſiſtible weight of argument, it was borne down by a majority of ſixty. And Mr. Grattan's bill, for diſqualifying revenue officers from voting at elections, was alſo rejected by a large majority. If undue influence was the ſole motive that induced the right honourable member, to introduce the bill to diſqualify revenue officers from voting at general elections, the bill would in that caſe be too limited; as it is a fact that the majority of the tenantry of the kingdom ought to be diſqualified on the ſame principle, and there is no reaſon can be aſſigned why revenue officers ſhould be deprived

priveđ of their franchiſe, for acting under that kind of influence, while others are actuated by the ſame principle and paſs unnoticed.

A BILL paſſed this ſeſſion for regulating the iſſuing of licenees, for ſelling ſpirituous liquors, and for remedying the abuſes ariſing from the exceſſive uſe thereof. It raiſed the price of licences conſiderably, and reſtraining the ſale of ſpirits to ſuch houſes only as were ſet apart for public entertainment, and excluded ſhops of every other kind. But it is well known that encreaſing the reſtrictions, on the licenſed retailer in the ſame ratio, encourages the clandeſtine ſale of ſpirits. Wherefore regulations would prove more effectual in this buſineſs than penalties, and the co-operation of the country gentlemen would be attended with the moſt ſalutary conſequences. By their vigilance and attention alone, government may hope for the ſuppreſſion of the unlicenſed cottages, throughout the kingdom, which not only deſtroy the health, but contaminate the morals of the people.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Conſiderations on the Bill for encouraging and reclaiming barren Land—Penſion Bill introduced by Mr. Forbes—Its rejection—The Doctrine of Fiats diſcuſſed, and a Motion brought forward by Mr. George Ponſonby, for cenſuring the Conduct of the chief Juſtice of the King's Bench for iſſuing a Fiat againſt John Magee, at the inſtance of Richard Daly—The Meaſure loſt——Mr. Forbes introduced a Bill for effecting a Reſponſibility in the Servants of the Crown—Mr. Graydon preſented the Report of the Committe appointed to take the State and Management of the Police, for two years laſt paſt into Conſideration—Obſervations on the Progreſs of the civilization of the Country for ſome Years—On its Trade Manufactures and riſing Proſperity—Reflections on the French Revolution—The Care that all States ſhould take againſt the Introduction of their Principles—A Character of Doctor Crumpe's Eſſay, on the beſt Means of providing Employment for the People—The inefficacy of the late Act for ſuppreſſing the exceſſive Uſe of Spirits—Bill in Favour of the Roman Catholics—A Petition from the Catholics

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of Dublin, praying to be admitted to the elective Franchiſe, rejected—The Reaſons aſſigned for its diſmiſſal—Eaſt India Bill introduced by Mr. George Ponſonby—Mr. Stewart of Killimoon's Motion in Favour of Preſbyterian Miniſters unanimouſly carried—The accidental burning of the Houſe of Commons--A Committee appointed to examine into the Cauſe and origin of it—Their report—Some further Improvements in in Order to check the exceſſive uſe of Spirituous Liquors—A Review of the Seſſion—The Caſe of Tithes conſidered—Their being conſidered as a Grievance, made the oſtenſible Cauſe of the Diſturbances which Diſgrace the Country—A candid Enquiry into the Cauſe of Defenderiſm and the Artifice that encouraged it—The Conſideration of the Catholic Cauſe, recommended by his Majeſty to the Iriſh Parliament.

WE have been always in the habit of conſidering the clergy of Ireland as one of the moſt reſpectable bodies in the community, and on a compariſon with the clergy of other kingdoms, we will not heſitate to pronounce that there is not in Europe a prieſthood more reſpectable and enlightened, every

Every meaſure therefore that affects ſo truly uſeful a body ought to be weighed with the utmoſt caution and attention.

THE rights of the clergy were already materially injured, by the reſolution of agiſtment, the moſt partial, the moſt ſelfiſh and unjuſtifiable reſolution ever entered into by any ſet of men. By this infamous reſolution the miſerable peaſant who builds his wretched hut in the dyke that may furniſh him with a ſide wall, ſhall pay to the clergy the tenth part of the produce of his potatoe garden, and of his own labour, in addition to an high rent; while his landlord, with perhaps a thouſand acres adjoining him, ſhall pay nothing. Can any thing be more unjuſt than this ſyſtem?

THE landlord imputes the poverty and wretchedneſs of the peaſant to the parſon, the parſon retorts on the landlord, the peaſant unfortunately believes both, but he feels the tithe heavier than all his other burdens, becauſe it is the laſt. Hence the riots and diſturbances that have diſgraced the kingdom. Wherefore, in order to put a period to ſuch ſcenes, the reſolution of agiſtment ought to be reſcinded,

and a modus for tithes eſtabliſhed, ſuch as would relieve the poor and afford a comfortable income to the parſon, without diſpute or litigation.

A. D. 1791. With a view to one of thoſe objects, Mr. Grattan introduced a bill to encourage the reclaiming of barren lands, by exempting them from tithes for ſeven years; but the bill failed, as it was apprehended that in its conſequences, it would eſſentially injure the intereſt of the parochial clergy. It was inſiſted that it would be unjuſt to tax the clergy excluſively for the improvement of barren lands, when the great advantage reſulting from it would redound to the landlord. That therefore ſuch improvements ought to take place at the expence of the landlord, and not of the clergy, whoſe incomes were already too ſmall, and that it would be dangerous to attempt any innovation in the dues of the clergy, particularly at a period when ſuch flagrant injuſtice and injuries had been committed on the clergy of another country. The evident intention of the right honourable mover, was certainly to afford encouragement, and not taxation to the parochial

chial clergy. However, the zeal of their advocates in parliament would not ſuffer any enquiry to be made into the buſineſs, although a minute inveſtigation would have tended ultimately to the benefit of the clergy, and the protection of the church.

Mr. Forbes, a member of the moſt exalted good qualities, and poſſeſſed of every virtue and amiable endowment, which can render man moſt valuable to ſociety, introduced a bill to limit the amount of penſions. He ſupported the bill by many powerful arguments. He ſaid, "he conſidered the bill abſolutely "neceſſary to the ſafety of the country and "the preſervation of the conſtitution; as an "unlimited power of granting penſions, with "the ſame for creating new parliamentary "places, would evidently tend to ſubvert the "independence of parliament. Mr. Forbes's bill limited the penſion liſt to eighty thouſand pounds a year, which was a moſt liberal proviſion, to enable the crown to reward meritorious ſervices.

The penſion liſt at this time amounted to 105,000l. a year. In the laſt year five thouſand

four hundred pounds had fallen off by deaths, but that the public might not benefit much by the chance of mortality, the ministers immediately on the death of those pensioners, added to the pension list 2,500l.

It certainly must be considered as a grievous oppression on the public, to put new loads upon them, as soon as they had been discharged from the old. The chancellor of the Exchequer, with that integrity and candour, for which he is so eminently distinguished, did not defend the encrease of pensions, he declared that he was not consulted on the business, nor did he conceive himself entitled to be consulted, when his majesty was pleased to exercise his undoubted prerogative, in rewarding the merits of his subjects. The bill was negatived by a majority of 26, notwithstanding it was supported by the eloquence of a Grattan, and the solid and unanswerable arguments of a Forbes.

No consideration but the public good and a regard for that invaluable of all blessings, personal liberty, to which every individual is by birth right entitled, could induce us to introduce

introduce a ſubject which may tend to affect the feelings of the noble lord who preſides in the court of king's bench. On the 22d. of March Mr. George Ponſonby moved the houſe to reſolve, that it was their opinion, that the chief juſtice of the king's bench, in ordering *a capias ad reſpondendum* to iſſue againſt John Magee, on the affidavit of Richard Daly, marked 4000l. acted illegally. He ſupported the meaſure in a manner that reflected the higheſt honour on the great legal talents of the honourable mover. He ſaid, that the chief juſtice, by granting a fiat for 4000l. enabled the plaintiff to aſſeſs his own damages, and puniſh the defendant by throwing him into priſon for many months, before enquiry could be made, whether the plaintiff's charge was founded or not; and, above all, without that circumſtance indiſpenſible to the taking ſpecial bail, ſpecific damage.

The public conduct of miniſters, of all great officers of ſtate, and all who hold public truſts for the people, is a fair ſubject of public and ſober enquiry. But on the criminal proceedings taken on ſuch publications depends the freedom of the preſs; and if any printer, how-

ever faulty, can be ſeized and thrown into priſon upon a fiat to any amount that the humour of a judge, or the malice of a proſecutor may think fit to iſſue, it in ſuch caſe would require little eloquence to prove that the freedom of the ſubject and the liberty of the preſs were at an end.

In the preſent caſe, the printer had moſt groſsly abuſed in his paper the noble lord, wherefore it was incumbent on his lordſhip to proceed with the moſt guarded circumſpection, leſt any enemy might attribute his ſeverity to perſonal motives; his conduct ſhould have been regulated by what the law in its ſtricteſt ſenſe would warrant and juſtify; he ought to have looked down with contempt on illiberal and vulgar abuſe, particularly as Mr. Magee, was under a criminal information in his own court.

The lord chief juſtice's reaſons for refuſing to accept of common bail for John Magee were, that ſpecial bail is demandable in a caſe of *ſcandalum magnatum*, and that he could not ſee any reaſon why ſpecial bail was not demandable in the preſent caſe;

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as well as in cases of *scandalum magnatum*, or in that of criminal conversation, for that they all equally depended on the contingent damages which a jury might think fit to award.

Mr. Ponsonby cited a variety of cases to shew that special bail was not demandable in cases of slander. He agreed with the chief justice that special bail was demandable in cases of criminal conversation, but would not allow the least similarity in the two cases, except that both found in damages,

In the case of slander, the defendant might justify it, by proving its truth, but no one can justify an act of criminal conversation, as it is repugnant to every principle of religion and morality, and subversive of all those bonds that unite civil society, or promote domestic happiness, and therefore there seems to have been no grounds for comparing two offences so widely different. On the question being put it was rejected by a majority of sixty.

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THE Attorney General, however, to quiet any apprehenſions of the people relative to either the liberty of the ſubject or that of the preſs, brought a bill into parliament to limit and define the power of the courts in caſes ſimilar to the preſent, in order to put the ſubject out of the power of any court, by preventing vexatious arreſts for ſcandal. The deſign of this bill was to quiet the public mind which had recently been much agitated by the late proceedings in the caſe of Magee.

Too much praiſe cannot be beſtowed on thoſe virtuous characters, who ſeſſion after ſeſſion ſtruggled ſo unremittingly in the ſervice of the people, with a conſtant attention to the public good, from which no conſideration could tempt them to ſwerve: Mr. Forbes brought forward a bill for effecting a reſponſibility, in the ſervants of the crown in the different departments of the executive government, to the parliament thereof. This bill was deſigned to eſtabliſh in Ireland the principles of the Britiſh conſtitution and the honour and dignity of parliament.

IN

In a country where the command of the army, the execution of the law, the beſtowing of offices, and the power of making peace and war, are all veſted in the ſovereign; if the miniſters of that ſovereign be not reſponſible for their conduct, that government is deſpotic in reſpect to the iſſuing of money. The lord lieutenant was not reſponſible, much leſs his ſecretary, for he was not known to the conſtitution, and the chancellor of the exchequer diſclaimed all reſponſibility.

Wherefore in this kingdom there is no reſponſibility in the ſervants of the crown. Until a reſponſibility in the ſervants of the crown be ſecured to the juriſdiction of parliament, we cannot be conſidered realy free, as at preſent we are only metaphyſically and abſtractedly ſo. If a ſhadow of reſponſibility exiſted in the miniſters of the crown, it would not be ſuggeſted, as it had been in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament that it might coſt the country half a million in order to bear down an ariſtocracy. Such a ſuggeſtion was not compatible with any idea of reſponſibility at all.

The

THE bill was oppoſed on two grounds, The firſt, that there was a reſponſibility already, the other that the reſponſibility propoſed by the bill would ſubvert the regal conſtitution of the country. To refute this firſt propoſition, it is only neceſſary to conſider the manner of diſburſing money from our treaſury. The firſt ſtep, a king's letter, ſigned by his majeſty, and counter-ſigned by the lords of the treaſury in England; thoſe officers, have not in this realm any right, authority, reſidence or reſponſibility; their ſignatures are ſo far from furniſhing any reſponſibility to our parliament, that they do not admit of being noticed by our conſtitution, therefore, thoſe officers are phyſically irreſponſible, and, conſtitutionally unoſtenſible. What avail is it, therefore, to have an inqueſt in the houſe of commons capable to examine and impeach, when there are none forthcoming to its juriſdiction.

THUS a king's letter furniſhes no reſponſibility whatever, the letter is directed to the lord lieutenant; who therefore makes out his warrant, reciting the purport of the letter, ſigned by him at the top, and his ſecretary at the bottom. Here the Iriſh executive act begins

gins to operate, but let us see what kind of responsibility it affords?

The lord lieutenant, it is admitted, is impeachable by parliament. His impeachment would only commence when his commission ceased, and when his person was out of the jurisdiction of the realm. It would derogate from our dignity to impeach him before the lords of Great Britain, nor can we attack his person when we impeach him before our own lords.

As to the lord lieutenant's secretary, the constitution does not notice him, therefore he is not in its contemplation. He may however excite the indignation of the kingdom, but can never satisfy its justice. Wherefore this, in the emphatic words of Mr. Grattan, can be called by no other name than that of a fugacious responsibility."

Mr. Hume, who was by no means an enthusiast for liberty, observes that in a limited monarchy it is essential that ministers of the crown shall be responsible for their acts, and he

he adds that the orders of the king muſt not be a juſtification; and my Lord Coke, in his chapter on parliament, ſays, that the houſe of commons is the grand inquiſitor of the nation, for the purpoſe of inquiring into grievances, which ariſe not more frequently from breaches of law, than from abuſes of regal power.

As our revenues are not appropriated, conſequently they are more liable to corrupt miſapplication in a country where there is neither place bill nor penſion bill, and where our unappropriated revenue may be converted to innumerable objects of venality and influence; a reſponſibility bill becomes abſolutely eſſential, and more particularly ſo from a recent declaration of one of our miniſters in the houſe of commons when he confeſſed that in 1769, government bought a majority of our parliament with the money of the nation, and foretold at the ſame time that it would happen again in 1789, and the fact had been ſo.

As to the ſecond grounds, that it would be a ſubverſion of the government, it is unfounded.

ed. It would certainly alter the practice of the Iriſh government as to the diſburſements of public money. A place bill would operate to the reſtoration of our government, ſubverted by looſe and unprincipled practices, the effect of an age of domination, and which have become ſo eſtabliſhed in this kingdom, that the miniſters of the crown pronounce them to be the eſſence of our government.

THUS government would defend the diſburſements of public money by the treaſurers of Great Britain, whom they allow to have no legal authority, and by the lord lieutenant and his ſecretary, whom they allow to offer no adequate reſponſibility; and they oppoſe a bill whoſe principles they acknowledged, that in the diſburſement of public money, the executive officer ſhould be forthcoming to parliament.

THUS the change of government on this occaſion turns out to be, that government is ſubverted, when a practice which they do not allow to be legal is reformed, by a principle they admit to be conſtitutional. Thus the oppoſers of the bill, would not allow Ireland

land to have an executive power, but that ſhe ſhould be governed even in the diſburſements of her own money by the executive power of Great Britain; and that the Britiſh miniſter, not the king of Ireland, ſhould have full and excluſive authority over the Iriſh treaſury. However the bill was loſt by the force of numbers alone.

DURING this ſeſſion a committee had been appointed to enquire into the ſtate and management of the police eſtabliſhment for two years laſt paſt, they ſat for forty two days, and with the utmoſt patience and perſeverance, purſued the enquiry committed to their charge. They had heard every thing that the commiſſioners of police had thought proper to alledge, they had been allowed to croſs examine every witneſs they choſe, they had been called upon by the committee for their defence, they declined, after a conſultation with each other, making any.

YET when Mr. Graydon brought forward the report of the committee, the miniſter oppoſed it, notwithſtanding that Mr Graydon had declared that the object of the committee

tee was not to criminate the police, fair and impartial enquiry was their object in the buſineſs, and he ſaid, that fairly and impartially they had performed it. He alſo added that their report was not ſuch as would criminate the police, for whatever faults there were, there were alſo circumſtances highly to the credit of the inſtitution. However the committee were diſreſpectfully treated by the refuſal of their report.

The public attention was for ſome time directed to this object, and when the report was ſuppreſſed, opinions much more injurious than the report would perhaps authorize, were entertained againſt the police; wherefore the friends of the inſtitution did not act prudently by preventing the report from being received. Thus, by the conduct of commiſſioners of police, by having neglected to make any defence when called upon to do ſo, they were reduced to a ſituation which frequently happens to perſons in the courts of juſtice, judgment went againſt them by default, and by the ſuppreſſion of the report of the committee in the houſe of commons, the

the citizens of Dublin conſidered them in a much worſe light than they really ought.

If we look back for a few years, the retroſpect will afford much ſatisfaction to every Iriſhman. The progreſs civilization had made in the country, and the beneficial effects that have reſulted from it, were ſelf-evident in the advancement of our agriculture, population, proſperity, and order. Inland navigations, undertaken by ſpirited and patriotic individuals, and encouraged by the liberality of parliament have contributed not a little to the civilization of the country, by promoting its trade and agriculture.

In the courſe of a few years bounties had encreaſed from 75,000l, to 181,000l. this is a convincing proof of the rapid improvement of the kingdom. It is fair to ſtate that the proſperity of the country has conſiderably encreaſed the public expence, and this conſideration will ſo far redound to the credit of government and make ſome atonement for many acts of prodigality and profuſion.

Before

BEFORE the corn bounties, which owe their origin to Lord Pery took place, what was the ſituation of the country? Thouſands of acres of fine arable land, lay uncultivated and uninhabited, and the metropolis of a fertile iſland, was indebted to foreign kingdoms for its bread. That there were not leſs than 500,000l. per annum, ſent out of the country, to purchaſe corn for our ſubſiſtence.

IN the fifteen years ſince the commencement of the bounties, compared with the ſame number of years previous to 1758, in which the bounties began to operate, the actual gain to the kingdom on the increaſe of export, and decreaſe of import of corn, meal, malt, and flour, excluſive of all other gains during that period amounted to 1,149,172l. Thus it is ſelf-evident that the agriculture of the kingdom muſt have declined, if the bounties granted on the carriage of corn, malt, meal and flour, had not prevented it.

SINCE the year 1758, when the bounties were granted, our agriculture has been conſtantly encreaſing, and the encreaſe was unqueſtionably occaſioned by the operation of

the bounties. But the erection of flour mills throughout the kingdom, muſt be conſidered as the chief means through which the bounties have effected the encreaſe, as the mills furniſhed the beſt medium for conveying encouragement to the farmer.

SINCE the year 1758, ſeveral additions and improvements were made to the ſyſtem of corn bounties. In 1774, the rudiment of an export bounty was laid. In 1778, the coaſt and canal bounties were added; and in 1780, the inland bounty on malt and flour, was exactly proportioned to the expence of the carriage, for the purpoſe of equalizing the benefits to every part of the country, and an operative bounty on export was granted the ſame year.

BUT in 1784, the ſyſtem was completed by Mr. Foſter's act. This was a wiſe and beneficial law, and the right honourable founder is intitled to credit with the community for it, which is ever the beſt reward for public ſervice. This law completed the corn ſyſtem and has been the means of ſaving the nation many millions, to the great increaſe of trade, proſperity, and revenue of the country.

LOCAL

LOCAL prejudices, profeſſional intereſts, and popular deluſion have attempted to controvert their utility; but the beauties of national improvement, the comforts of national wealth and the virtues of national induſtry have been the benefits and bleſſings derived from them; and we truſt the vigilance and attention of our parliament will be ever awake for the preſervation of the ſyſtem.

VARIOUS branches of manufactures have within theſe few years made a conſiderable progreſs under the encouragement of parliament, particularly the cotton buſineſs which by the laudable exertions, of many individuals at their own private expence, has been brought to the higheſt pitch of perfection. It would be unpardonable as we now are treating of the cotton manufacture, to omit mentioning the great merit of Meſſrs. Clarke, Comerford, and O'Brien, for bringing ſo uſeful and extenſive a branch of manufacture, to ſuch perfection. Their unwearied attention to ſo complicated a buſineſs, as the cotton manufacture, together with the many improvements made by them, in almoſt every proceſs of the work, juſtly entitle them to the thanks of the nation.

THIS branch of buſineſs has made a rapid progreſs at Stratford in the county Wicklow, a part of the kingdom where no other manufacture was carried on before. By this manufacture, eſtabliſhed under the truly reſpectable firm of Meſſrs. Orr and Co. hundreds of the neighbouring poor get daily employment and comfortable ſubſiſtence. The face of the country is viſibly improved, habits of induſtry acquired, and morals and religion cultivated in a place where idleneſs, poverty, rude and ſavage manners ſo generally prevailed, to the diſgrace of the country, the contempt of the magiſtracy, and in direct and open violation of the laws.

IF manufactures were eſtabliſhed in many other parts of the kingdom the public tranquillity would not be ſo ſhamefully interrupted by inſurgents of different denominations, as it has been and ſtill continues to be in ſo many parts of Ireland.

LET the government enlighten the lower orders of the people by a comprehenſive and liberal plan of education; let aſſociations for diſcountenancing vice, and propagating virtue

tue, morality and religion be formed throughout the kingdom on a plan ſimilar to that of the Dublin aſſociation; let the magiſtracy of the kingdom, by their example, inculcate good morals, and by their attention to their duty, and that of the peace and happineſs of the kingdom, ſuppreſs the licentiouſneſs, intemperance, and turbulent diſpoſitions of the lower orders of the community. Let the poor be encouraged by leſſening their rack rents, which are ſcrewed from the vitals of induſtry to ſupport luxury, idle parade, and wanton profuſion. Let the immediate cultivator poſſeſs an intereſt in the ſoil, he contributes to fructify, and he will then ſet about the cultivation of it with chearfulneſs and alacrity. Let the wages of labour be alſo encreaſed, by which an additional incentive will be added to induſtry, and rude health infuſed into the looks, of our preſent half-ſtarved and emaciated peaſantry.

If theſe things were done, inſtead of conniving at, and ſometimes inciting the peaſantry to murmur againſt the parſon and tithes, then might we hope to ſee the country flouriſh and the noiſe of inſurrection and ſedition for ever baniſhed the land. The landlord, in order to conceal his own intolerable exactions

artfully turns the attention of the poor to the article of tithes, and lays the blame of all their diſtreſs and wretchedneſs at the door of the church.

But let not the yeomanry of Ireland be any longer duped by ſuch artful deluſions. It is in *rack rents*, and not in *tithes*, the evil complained of ſolely exiſts. Suppoſe, the people were gratified by the abolition of tithes, the landlord, and not the tenant would reap the full benefit of it. This is the reaſon why the landholders are ſo vociferous in their murmurs againſt tithes, and ſo inattentive to the rights of the clergy; as by the abolition of tithes they would ſwell their rent-rolls and be furniſhed with more ample means of eſtabliſhing their petty tyranny throughout the kingdom.

This is not a time to cheriſh diſcontent or countenance commotion, when all Europe is convulſed by the horrors of war. The exceſs of French licentiouſneſs ought to guard all countries againſt the repetition of ſuch ſcenes as would diſcard all ſenſe of religion, honour and humanity. With the example and miſeries

miſeries of France before their eyes all nations, ought to be perſuaded, that it is better to remain ſatisfied with their ſituation, be it what it may, than plunge into all the horrors of anarchy and confuſion, which can have no end but that of deſpotiſm.

In France, ſince the year 1789, a ſeries of events have happened, contrary to all the calculations of probability. An abſolute monarchy converted peaceably into a limited one, and that in an inſtant changed into a republic, accompanied with the murder of their king, and numerous inſtances of horrible and ſhocking barbarity. There is not perhaps a country in Europe whoſe intereſts are not involved in the cataſtrophe of the French revolution.

The eſtabliſhment of a republic in that country, will eventually ſtir up neighbouring kingdoms to imitate their example; and without the utmoſt vigilance and precaution moſt of the ſtates of Europe may experience a ſimilar revolution.

A demo-

A DEMOCRACY is ſo abſurd a form of government, that no prudent man will ever encourage ſo wild a ſyſtem. It poſſeſſes neither union of ſentiment, prudence, diſpatch, nor ſecrecy, which are all eſſential to a well-formed government. A democracy only tends to diſtract a nation, and deprive it of happineſs. Our manners, arts, ſciences, and our modes of life; all the enjoyments on which the happineſs and ſpendor of our age depend, are in direct oppoſition to a republican form of government.

IN order to eſtabliſh a ſyſtem of government on the baſis of perfect equality among men, we muſt recur to the ſimplicity of primitive ages, and enter once more into a ſtate of nature. In this reſpect the French have erred. Their republican government is founded on the deſtruction of all the advantages of which the preſent age is diſtinguiſhed; in order to attain their object, they conceived it neceſſary to confound every ſpecies of property; and force the human mind into a diſſembled acquieſcence, by cruelty and terror.

In the room of hereditary ariſtocracy, they have ſubſtituted that of the populace, who, being leſs under the dominion of reaſon and ſound education, muſt of courſe exerciſe a tyranny the more intolerable; and this has been the caſe. The palaces and coſtly furniture of the nobility and clergy could not be equally divided, they conſequently became the prey of the moſt daring and impudent plunderers.

Experience proves that it is no difficult taſk to alienate the affections of ſubjects by the ſpecious doctrine of liberty; and that it is much eaſier to overthrow, than to erect: and as the lower orders of the people are moſt numerous in every quarter of the univerſe, every ſtate has to apprehend the example of France and the infuſion of her principles. Thus anarchy, licentiouſneſs, and levelling principles may, without the utmoſt precaution, make the tour of Europe.

The times are truly alarming, and it becomes the duty of every good citizen to contribute to the preſervation of our preſent ſyſtem of government, and to ſet his

face

face againſt the introduction of wild fantaſtical and democratic ſyſtems. The doctrines frequently held forth, that republican governments are eſſentially neceſſary to conſtitue liberty, we abſolutely deny; our own conſtitution gives a direct contradiction to the aſſertion.

A. D. 1792. LIBERTY, in its proper acceptation, conſiſts in obeying ſuch laws as are framed by the people themſelves. It is in thoſe laws the ſovereignty reſides, and where the king to whom the execution of the law is committed, is equally ſubject to it as any of his people, there they enjoy as much freedom as is compatible with true happineſs. But where democracy reigns triumphant, there anarchy and horror, erect their bloody ſtandard.

AT ſuch a criſis, it behoves all thoſe who are bleſſed with affluence to devote a portion of it, in encouraging the trade, commerce, and manufactures of this country, where for a length of time abſurd and impolitic laws had fettered the efforts of the nation with reſpect to its commerce and manufactures, and debarred

debarred the great maſs of the people from becoming uſeful to themſelves or to the community.

WHEREFORE the man who wiſhes to promote the temporal and ſpiritual happineſs of the people, will be moſt ſedulous in deviſing ways and means to keep them uſefully employed; ſuch a man will be juſtly eſteemed a public bleſſing, as induſtry is the ſource of all the comforts and ſolid advantages that mankind enjoy; on the contrary, idleneſs is the origin of moſt of the evils and calamities which we labour under.

A WORK of diſtinguiſhed merit has lately made its appearance on the important ſubject of providing employment for the people. It is the production of the learned and ingenious Doctor Crumpe, of Limerick. In this work, with great depth of erudition and ability, the Doctor inveſtigates generally the errors and defects which obſtruct and check the ſprings of induſtry and labour, and he points out the beſt mode of providing general employment for the whole kingdom. He ably

ably refutes the imputation of indolence attached to the Iriſh character by ſuperficial obſervers. The performance is well worth the peruſal of every lover of his country.

THE miniſter, in the late act for encouraging the brewery by diſcouraging the diſtilleries, encreaſed the revenue without removing the intoxication. By this act, whiſkey was to be rendered unattainable by raiſing it an halfpenny a quart, and ſtrong beer was to be brought into conſumption by lowering it the one hundredth part of a farthing a quart. This was the encouragement to bring a wholeſome beverage into general uſe, as the antidote to a moſt calamitous and deleterious poiſon.

THE object of Mr. Latouche's bill, was not only to lower the duty, but to take off the reſtrictions affecting the brewery, in order to give it a decided preference. But to this act, they have added a new reſtriction affecting the quantity of liquors each brewer made; and in order to exclude the ſmaller brewer from the trade, they impoſed a new reſtriction. Thus in fact the bill has operated to the encreaſe of revenue and the continuation of intoxication

intoxication; to the manifeſt loſs of the community, by deſtroying the health and morals of the people. This is an evil of the firſt magnitude, and loudly calls on the legiſlature for reformation.

TEN years had now elapſed ſince the cauſe of the Roman Catholics had particularly engaged the attention of parliament. The good offices we owe to each other, the indulgence which is due to fellow ſubjects-recommended and endeared by the unimpeached conduct of a century, naturally call our attention to the ſubject, at a period when the public mind is become more enlightened, and when prejudices are daily yielding to confidence and affection.

IN the year 1774, the legiſlature firſt gratified the Roman Catholics with an opportunity of teſtifying their allegiance, by framing an oath for them, competent to that teſt, without implicating any article of religious faith or ſpeculative opinion. Four years after, the legiſlature wiſely confiding in their oaths, rewarded their fidelity by many ſubſtantial conceſſions.

IN

In the year 1784, the ſpirit of toleration further extended itſelf, and gained a further aſcendancy in favour of the Roman Catholics. The ſyſtem of intolerance began ſomewhat to relax, and what prejudice had adopted as a preſervation, moderation began now to view as little ſhort of oppreſſion.

On the 25th of January, 1792, Sir Hercules Langriſhe, introduced a bill into parliament for removing certain reſtraints and diſabilities under which his majeſty's Roman Catholic ſubjects laboured, from ſtatutes at that time in force.

It was Sir Hercules's plan, to give the Roman Catholic the practice and profeſſion of the law: to reſtore them to education entire and unreſtrained, and to allow intermarriage, by repealing that cruel ſtatute that tends to betray female credulity, and illegitamizes the offspring of a virtuous mother. And, finally, to remove thoſe obſtructions to arts and manufactures that limit the number of apprentices, which are neceſſary to aſſiſt and promote trade. This paſſed into a law.

THUS the legality of intermarriage between proteſtants and catholics was eſtabliſhed. The univerſity was thrown open to the catholics, and they were admitted to the benefits of education, and all reſtrictions upon their induſtry, in trade and manufactures, were removed.

A. D. 1792. A PETITION from the Catholics of Dublin, was preſented this ſeſſion, praying to be admitted to a participation of the elective franchiſe. In ſupport of the petition it was maintained, that admitting the catholics to a participation of the elective franchiſe, would not, as was by many ſeriouſly apprehended, affect the ſettlement of the conſtitution at the revolution of 1688.

ON conſulting the hiſtory of our country, we find, that there was not any ſettlement of the conſtitution of Ireland at that period; the ſecurity of our religion and property were the benefits which the proteſtants of Ireland derived from the revolution; eſſential and important advantages, which juſtly entitle the event to commemoration. But our efforts to obtain a participation of the benefits of the ſettlement

ſettlement of the conſtitution of England at the revolution, and of thoſe meaſures for the ſecurity of the rights and liberties of the ſubject which grew out of that ſettlement, have been invariably reſiſted by the Britiſh miniſtry.

THE act by which the Roman Catholics were deprived of the elective franchiſe paſſed at a period long ſubſequent to the revolution. It had not originated in any delinquency of the people of that perſuaſion, the law was enacted after the experience of twenty years of their peaceable conduct, and which they had ſince uniformly purſued, untainted by the example of two rebellions in the ſiſter kingdom.

THE reaſons aſſigned for rejecting the bill were, that Ireland was the laſt of all nations of Europe, which felt the hand of civilization, and that it would be imprudent to impart the full benefits of the conſtitution, to men who were not as yet competent to receive it. That it would be impolitic to offer the privileges of perfect ſociety to thoſe that were ſcarcely in the firſt ſtage of civilization.

It was inſiſted that we ſhould wait till the late laws in their favour had operated, to ſee their effects. That to intereſt the catholics in the ſettlement of property, the power of purchaſing lands had been given them, that they had been allowed the benefits of education to enlighten them, and that by intermarriage with catholics, we would encreaſe our connection and render our intereſt the ſame; and that having admitted them to the bar, their minds would become more liberal; but it was contended, that all thoſe cauſes ſhould operate before the elective franchiſe, the *ultimatum* of power, was conferred on them.

Parties are neceſſary in a free ſtate, but religion when brought into party, muſt always be deſtructive. In this kingdom it has been too long the caſe; would we could forget its conſequences!

The petition of the catholics praying to be admitted to the elective franchiſe, was rejected by a majority of ſeventy five.

WHEN Ireland aſſerted her right to trade with the whole world, there was no reſervation made with regard to India. We might have proceeded directly to thoſe wealthy regions, had we not reſtrained ourſelves by our revenue law. Laſt ſeſſion the attention of the houſe was drawn to this important queſtion. It was clearly proved that Ireland paid upwards of 500,000l. a year to England for India goods alone; but this year, the reaſons for aſſerting our right, were ſtronger than they were laſt; inaſmuch, as the miniſter was to ſettle his bargain with the Eaſt India company, which, if he was permitted to do without any claim being made on the part of Ireland, it might be alledged that we had tacitly renounced our rights in favour of the Eaſt India company.

IN order to obviate ſuch conſtructions, and thereby to open a direct trade between this country and India. Mr. Ponſonby moved, for leave to bring in a bill, to repeal every law which prohibited a trade from Ireland to the countries lying Eaſtward of the Cape of Good Hope.

WHEN

WHEN we had obtained the free trade in the year 1779, the India trade was omitted, it was alſo omitted in the year 1782. In 1783 and 1784. Mr. Corry with that zeal and integrity which have ever marked his character in the ſervice of his country, moved for a committee to take into conſideration the Eaſt-India trade; and the right of the country was in conſequence acknowledged. But Mr. Corry did not preſs the buſineſs any farther, clearly perceiving he had not ſupport to carry it into effect.

OUR right to the trade being thus eſtabliſhed, it was conceived to be moſt prudent to accede to a temporary relinquiſhment of the exerciſe of it. The trade to China was conceived to be the worſt for a country ſituated like this, which required a quick return, and not the very ſlow one, which a trade that requires a navigation equal to the circumference of the globe would yield. Such is the trade of China. It was not a trade that exported manufacture and brought home money, nor even a trade which exchanged manufacture for manufacture, but a trade which required an export of money, and a return of manufacture, and that too the ſloweſt poſſible return.

DOCTOR ADAM SMITH, who may be conſidered one of the firſt political writers of the age, is of opinion, that it would be better for a country of ſmall capital, to buy for ſome time even at an high price from other European nations, the Eaſt India goods it had occaſion for, than to import them directly from the Eaſt Indies.

WHAT it might loſe by the high price of theſe goods, he ſays could ſeldom be equal to the loſs which it would ſuſtain by the deſtruction of a large portion of its capital from other employments, more neceſſary, or more ſuitable to its circumſtances and ſituation than a direct trade to India. Mr. Ponſonby's motion fell to the ground, on which occaſion he declared that he never would vote with any adminiſtration until this, and the other meaſures to which he and the gentlemen with whom he acted, were pledged, ſhould be obtained.

MR. JAMES STEWART, member for the county Tyrone, has on many occaſions demonſtrated his patriotiſm and integrity in the

the ſenate; but his exertions on behalf of the preſbyterian clergy, during this ſeſſion, do honour to his humanity, and have impreſſed a body of loyal ſubjects, who were by no means rewarded according to their merits or wants, with ſentiments of gratitude not to be obliterated.

THE preſbyterian miniſters of the province of Ulſter, are a body of men, whoſe characters and conduct place them high in the eſtimation of their country. Mr. Stewart moved the houſe relative to ſome further proviſion for thoſe miniſters. And it muſt be allowed that no body of people have a ſtronger claim on the generoſity of parliament.

THE preſbyterians of Ulſter are taught by the example, as well as the precepts of their clergy, to be peaceable, induſtrious, obedient to the laws, and reſpectful to magiſtracy. By the charge on the eſtabliſhment in favour of non-conforming miniſters, the dividend amongſt them did not even average exceed 30l. each, a ſum totally inadequate to their wants and their meritorious ſervices.

To this, is to be added a ſum of 800l. a year, paid out of the king's privy purſe, and which ſum is now equally divided between the ſynod of Ulſter and the miniſters of the Southern aſſociation; this was a grant of George the I. as an acknowledgement for the ſervices of the preſbyterians of Ireland, in ſupport of the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover; to which ſucceſſion the preſent poſſeſſors of the grant are as ſtrongly attached as their predeceſſors were.

In conſequence of Mr. Stewart's repreſentation, it was unanimouſly agreed to by the houſe of commons, that an humble addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, beſeeching him to take into his conſideration the ſituation of the preſbyterian miniſters of this kingdom, and to make ſuch further proviſion for them, as in his wiſdom and bounty he ſhall think fit, and that the houſe would make good the ſame.

In the event of this buſineſs, no leſs than half a million of his majeſty's loyal ſubjects were deeply involved, men whoſe attachment to the ſovereign and his illuſtrious family is unqueſtionable

ſionable, and who proved themſelves the hereditary friends of that happy conſtitution, to the eſtabliſhment of which their anceſtors ſo eminently contributed.

In bringing before parliament a ſubject of ſuch importance, the preſbyterians were happy in the ſelection of their advocate, who for reſpectability and character is ſecond to no man in the kingdom, and his ſupport muſt add a weight and dignity to every cauſe that becomes the object of it.

On the 27th of February, as the houſe of commons ſat in committee, to enquire into the effect of the ſpirit regulation, and were examining witneſſes on the ſubject, they were interrupted by the confuſed voices of perſons on the roof. The houſe being alarmed, the clerk was ſent up to examine what had happened, he in a few moments gave notice from above, that the roof was on fire, and that the dome would probably fall in within five minutes.

The Speaker, with that coolneſs and preſence of mind, peculiar to himſelf, immediately

ately reſumed the chair and put the queſtion of adjournment which paſſed without oppoſition, as may be reaſonably ſuppoſed, on ſuch an emergency.

NOTWITHSTANDING every poſſible aſſiſtance was inſtantly given, yet the progreſs of the fire was ſo dreadfully rapid, that in leſs than two hours the houſe of commons, whoſe beautiful architecture and diſpoſition, excited the admiration of foreigners, was burned to the ground.

IN this dreadful accident none of the records and journals of the houſe were deſtroyed, owing to the vigilance and uncommon exertion of the Speaker. The gentlemen of the college, the military and all deſcriptions of citizens who attended, uſed their utmoſt and moſt anxious efforts for the preſervation of the building and the protection of every article of importance, and their exertions were crowned with a great degree of ſucceſs in preventing any farther miſchief than had unavoidably occurred.

As

As the public mind was conſiderably alarmed by this dreadful conflagration, it was thought expedient to appoint a committee for the purpoſe of enquiring into the cauſe and origin of this unfortunate event. After the committee had ſat for a conſiderable length of time, and had made the moſt ſerious enquiry into the cauſe of the fire by which the interior of the houſe was burned, yet the ſubſtance of the report was, that the fire was entirely owing to an accidental cauſe. Thus the infamous imputations alledged againſt the catholics, reverted back on the heads of the baſe authors of the vile calumny, which was ſo induſtriouſly circulated and ſo eagerly ſwallowed by their enemies, who attempted on this occaſion to blacken their characters, by aſcribing a fire that was proved to have been purely accidental, to the machinations of a popiſh plot. But the report of the committee completely ſilenced the further propagation of ſo unfounded and ſo malignant a charge.

THIS ſeſſion, a reciprocal preference in the corn-trade with Great Britain was carried into effect, a ſyſtem beneficial to both countries and eſſentially advantageous to the agriculture of

of this kingdom. Some further ſteps were taken to check the exceſſive uſe of ſpirituous liquors, but a decided preference had by no means been given to our breweries.

The conſequence was, what might reaſonably have been expected; that the conſumption of beer had decreaſed, and that of home ſpirits had encreaſed, and this will ever be the caſe, until all reſtrictions are totally removed from the brewery. During this ſeſſion, oppoſition was as unſucceſsful as in the laſt; the place, penſion, reſponſibility and police bills, were rejected.

It appeared that one eighth of the groſs revenue of the kingdom, which conſiſted of 1,600,000l. was divided amongſt members of parliament. One hundred and thirteen place men and penſioners were in parliament. By ſuch inſtruments, adminiſtration was governing the country, thro' a ſyſtem replete with evil, and if not checked, will eventually overwhelm the conſtitution.

There is no man capable of reflection, who does not ſee this country verging to ſome grand criſis; we hope, not to an union with

Britain

Britain nor yet to war, but to reformation, effected not by the violence of the people, but by their weight, operating on a conſtitutional and parliamentary ſcale. But ſhould our repeated efforts to controul the progreſs of unconſtitutional influence not ſucceed, doubt and darkneſs cloud our future proſpects, and danger and confuſion may uſher in the next century.

Money reſted upon paper, is the ſupport of our government; ſhould that ſink under the hand of time, the government would vaniſh; ſo ſunk the government of France, becauſe it relied not on the affections of the people, but on revenue. Cicero enumerates four modes of government; by affection, confidence, admiration and corruption. Our government it muſt be admitted, is not ſupported by the two firſt modes: it excites no doubt admiration, but it is of that ſpecies, which profuſion and extravagance never fail to produce.

The mode of governing a country by corruption, is a weak and imprudent one, unſtable

ſtable as the paper, which is its inſtrument, and fleeting as the affections of the proſtitute it buys.

If Ireland was a country, vigorous in a flouriſhing democracy, or an independent yeomanry, perhaps influence might then be deemed expedient to counteract the too high tone of democracy. But the reverſe being the ſituation of the country, the neceſſity for a weight of influence in parliament does not exiſt.

In the reign of William, the crown had no ſway in parliament whatſoever, and yet was in no danger. It was a weak defence in government, that they only did what their predeceſſors had done; as well might the harlot defend her infamy by the proſtitution of her parent, or man his courage by the tergiverſation of his father.

The progreſs of civilization, and that of knowledge, have encreaſed the illumination of man, to that degree; that ſuch miniſterial arguments

arguments inſtead of convincing the people, tend only to excite their ridicule and indignation.

And if government be determined to perſevere in their uſual mode of proceeding; they will find themſelves totally miſtaken, as they will be as incompetent to govern by ſuch modes as they have formerly purſued, as the mariner, ever accuſtomed to peaceful ſeas never ruffled by the ſtorm, would, to guide his bark in the immenſe and troubled ocean.

It is with no leſs diffidence than pain, that we find ourſelves obliged to differ on the ſubject of tithes, from a modern writer of acknowledged merit and talents. He places tithes under the head of injudicious taxes, operating as a clog to induſtry, and an impediment to agriculture.

We freely admit, that on a ſuperficial view of the ſubject, tithes, appeared to us in the ſame point of view; but in conducting our reſearches with that attention the importance

tance of the ſubject demanded, we are clearly decided in opinion, that the abolition of tithes would ultimately, neither tend to the improvement of the country, nor the benefit of the peaſantry. We appeal to the good ſenſe of the people of Ireland; would the peaſantry of the country, be relieved an atom of their burthens, were lands totally exempt from tithes?

THE landlord would immediately avail himſelf of the exemption, by raiſing the rents, and encreaſing his rent-roll. And in whatever mode the clergy would be provided for by the legiſlature, the people would ſtill be ſubject to the payment of the proviſion ſubſtituted in the place of tithes, for the maintenance of the clergy.

TITHES, and the laws by which they have been eſtabliſhed and regulated, upon a cloſe inſpection, will appear to have been admirably well contrived for the ſupport of the clergy, and the eaſe of the people. By this mode of ſubſiſtence, the property of the clergyman riſes and falls, as is moſt equitable, with that

that of his pariſhoners, and bears a fair proportion to the progreſs or declenſion of the country.

In bad ſeaſons, the farmers ſuffering under the hardſhips of ſcanty crops, are not burthened with the payment of a fixed annual ſum, as their quota to the clergyman; but are called on, at their own option to pay a ſum of money, as a moderate compenſation for the tenth part of ſuch ſcanty crops, or to ſet out to the parſon, the legal tenth part of the crop, beyond which no avarice of the clergyman, nor management of his farmers, nor proctors, can ever augment the amount of ſuch tithes.

Thus it becomes the parſon's private intereſt to encourage and promote habits of temperance, induſtry, and ſkill amongſt his pariſhoners; and thus his ſpiritual connection with them, becomes ſtrengthened, by the additional incitement of temporal advantage.

Speculative writers have propoſed ſundry plans for the maintenance of the clergy, but they appear in general too viſionary and flimſy, to merit obſervation. Some have expreſſed a wiſh that the proviſion for the clergy ſhould be aſcertained in money from time to time, by commiſſioners, then preſented by grand juries, and applotted and levied, as county charges and preſentments are at preſent in this kingdom.

But wretched indeed would be the property and intereſts of our clergy, and conſequently our religion, if they were entruſted to intereſted commiſſioners, jobbing grand juries, and venal applotters, together with the various evils which ſpread through the entire ſyſtem of grand jury legiſlation and electioneering finance.

It is a well known fact, that among the real grievances of the diſtreſſed peaſantry of Ireland, the ſhameful and prodigal grants of their money, by the rural legiſlators of their counties, to thoſe moſt abandoned miſcreants, the profeſſed road makers, bridge makers, and affidavit men, is one of the moſt crying and moſt notorious.

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THE modes of applotment often add to the original burthen, the exaction of conſtables under pretence of a delay of payment, are often cruel and oppreſſive: and diſputes, animoſity, and litigation, are the conſtant conſequences of the apportionment of theſe county charges.

WITH the conviction that this is the true ſtate of the caſe, it would be madneſs to adopt ſo unpopular and ſo deteſted a mode of providing for the clergy, which would then become tenfold more oppreſſive and deteſted.

THE mode would prove highly injurious to the clergy whom we eſteem, or at leaſt affect to eſteem, and who moſt unqueſtionably merit it. It would alſo be a grievance and odious to that body of the people, whom we either wiſh or affect to relieve from their preſent diſtreſſes.

IF the men of landed property in Ireland did not ſuffer their paſſion for foreign luxuries and vices, to render it neceſſary to deviſe ſchemes for racking their tenantry, and raiſing their lands to an artificial value; then might we ſhortly ſee a vigorous and flouriſhing yeo-

ry, and never hear the voice of tumult or inſurrection, nor a murmur uttered againſt the inſtitution of tithes.

But unfortunately the thirſt for gaming, and various other inſatiate and artificial wants, has reduced the landlord to conſider his eſtate as his wares and merchandize; and then with the ſpirit of a pedlar, he retails them to the higheſt bidder; *hinc illæ lachrymæ.*

It is a melancholy truth, that the ſtate of the peaſantry in moſt parts of Ireland is wretched in the extreme. It is the bounden duty of the men of landed property to alleviate the diſtreſſes of the peaſantry by all poſſible means; but unfortunately many of the principal nobility and gentry, do not reſide on their eſtates, and are therefore inſenſible to the diſtreſſes which they do not ſee, and to which they flatter themſelves they do not adminiſter any occaſion.

Many of the reſident gentlemen unwilling to leſſen their incomes, to check their pleaſures, or to admit the juſtneſs of thoſe complaints which they are not inclined to remove, have evinced

evinced a diſpoſition not friendly to the rights of the eſtabliſhed clergy; and at all times, and on all occaſions, have contrived to diminiſh that reſpect and reverence which all men, particularly thoſe of the lower order of the community ſhould be taught to entertain for the functions, properties, and perſons, of the miniſter's of religion. The example of ſuperiors have a moſt powerful influence over the conduct of inferiors, whoſe paſſions are eaſily inflamed and whoſe ignorance will not ſuffer them to diſcern the artifices of thoſe, whoſe object is, to lead them on to deſtruction.

Grievances were pointed out, which had no exiſtence, or which, if exiſting, might readily have been removed by an appeal to the known law of the land; but a ſurer method was pointed out by which the great purpoſe might be accompliſhed, and the confederated oppoſers of the clergy be kept without the reach of ſevere and capital puniſhment. The miſchief thus encouraged, made a wide and rapid progreſs through the kingdom, even to the very ſhores of the Atlantic: like the *Typhon* in the Indian ſeas, which at firſt appears as a ſmall ſpeck in the weſt, level with the horizon,

then gradually riſes to the zenith, and covers the whole ocean with lightnings, ſtorms, and devaſtation.

AMONG the inſurgents ſome men were found of leſs prudence and more active ſpirits, than thoſe cool ſpecious men, who by their cunning had planned, and by their conſequence had ſupported the original diſturbances in the country. Thus the actors in the tragic ſcene became regardleſs of the directions of their reſpectable prompters, and were hurried on by a barbarous impetuoſity.

UNDER pretence of redreſſing grievances, private revenge was frequently gratified in the moſt dreadful manner. In the midnight hour, armed parties marched from houſe to houſe, and collected fire arms, by menaces, by force, and ſometimes by torture; they exacted heavy contributions from all deſcriptions of people, for the purchaſe of ammunition, and the general ſupport of the common cauſe; they burned the tithes of the clergy, and the hay-yards of ſuch farmers as had dared to comply with the laws; and they threatened the houſes of the clergy

clergy, and of thoſe few magiſtrates, who had meditated an active oppoſition to their proceedings.

WHETHER the peaſantry are in themſelves really irritated againſt the clergy, or artfully miſled by cool and deſigning men, whoſe averſion to all religion, prompts them to arm the hands of the populace for its ſubverſion; or whether there lurked in ſecret, a fixed intention gradually to overturn all the orders of the ſtate, and to begin with that, which, in theſe days of religious indifference has leaſt advocates and protectors; the effects are undoubtedly the ſame, and all ranks of people are now called upon, when the magnitude of the evil is apparent, to exert their beſt endeavours to check the progreſs of the contagion.

THOSE who have the apppointment of the magiſtrates ought to uſe the utmoſt caution in ſelecting honeſt and independent men for that order. If the magiſtracy be permitted to fall into contempt, and that the execution of the laws in the diſtant counties, far removed from the ſupreme courts and the eye of go-

vernment, be entruſted to the ignorant, the fordid, the timid, the profligate, or the neceſſitous; the laws themſelves will be deſpiſed, abhorred, and at length oppoſed, while univerſal ruin muſt inevitably enſue.

THE clergy are a claſs of people, who from their education, their habits, and their profeſſion, are the leaſt likely to be ſubject to the diſhoneſt and diſhonourable practices of enforcing enormous exactions in the caſe of tithes, men whoſe benevolence and charity uſually prompt them to a chearful relaxation from, and diminution of their legal rights.

ON what ground then do the arguments reſt, which have been urged for the annihilation of the tithe ſyſtem? On the unſupported aſſertions of men, whoſe ignorance, prejudices, turbulent diſpoſitions and actions, entitle them to no poſſible degree of credit in the preſent caſe; and if grievances actually exiſt in this point, can the legiſlature receive inſulting propoſitions, from a nocturnal banditti, either actuated by the infatuation of their own minds, or guided by the ſecret counſels of men

men in more elevated ranks, totally regardleſs of every thing but their own intereſt, and the exaltation of the party to which they belong?

In the northern parts of the kingdom, agitators of public tranquillity have broke out under various deſignations, firſt oak-boys, right boys, hearts of ſteel, and peep of day boys. Some few years ſince, the dregs of thoſe inſurgents known by the name of hearts of ſteel, frequently and wantonly inſulted the catholics when going to their devotion, and at burials, conſequently frequent riots enſued, and ſome blood was ſpilt. To repel theſe inſults and wanton attacks, the catholics armed for the purpoſe of ſelf defence, from whence they were denominated *Defenders*. Their opponents choſe the dawn of day, for making their attacks on the houſes of the catholics, and from thence were called *Peep of day Boys*. Their object at firſt was to ſearch for arms, but from that, they proceeded to open rapine, pillage, and murder.

These evils were ſuffered to proceed to an alarming extent, either through the indolence, or deſign of the magiſtrates, who, from

from their poverty might be induced to connive at theſe meaſures, in hopes, that when the alarm would reach the ear of government, the police act would be extended to that part of the kingdom under which they, or their creatures, might obtain appointments.

We may reſt ſatisfied, thoſe diſturbances were fomented and cheriſhed by the enemies of the catholic body, in order to render them completely odious in the eyes of government; for ſurely it could not be the intereſt of the catholics, when ſoliciting the legiſlature for the repeal of the penal laws, to exaſperate government by outrageous commotions. But the infatuated and deluded populace were duped, and miſled by a ſet of miſcreants, whoſe object it was, either to derive emolument from exciting inſurrections, or to ſtamp the catholics with infamy and diſgrace.

But it is moſt devoutly to be wiſhed, that the infernal prompters of a wretched and miſguided people, may ſhortly be dragged into open day, and there meet that ignominious fate,

fate, to which their ſeditious counſels and artful machinations, have recently brought many unfortunate victims.

It gave every liberal mind much ſatisfaction to find that the ſpeech from the throne at the opening of this ſeſſion, recommended to the attention of parliament, the ſituation of the Roman catholics: the loyalty and good conduct of that people, were rapidly removing the prejudices of the conſtituent body, and there could be no doubt, that his majeſty's recommendation would have infinite weight, not only with parliament, but with all ranks of the community.

The ſituation, however of the country was truly alarming, but it was the obvious and natural reſult of his majeſty's miniſters. The men who oppoſed the liberty of Ireland in 1782, were made our miniſters. Ireland afterwards forgave them, but they did not forgive the country, they attempted to put down the conſtitution, and were now endeavouring to put down the government.

Our

Our ſyſtem of government bordered on infatuation. Foreign revolutions had, no doubt a powerful effect on domeſtic diſcontents. Yet the cauſes of them, were laid by miniſters, who might have ſeen the ſtate of foreign politics, and have foreſeen the great influence of that ſtate on domeſtic diſorders. Thus the country by a courſe of bad management was brought back to that ſtate of diſcontent and jealouſy, which in 1782, produced his majeſty's gracious interpoſition.

The French levellers deſtroyed the nobility and the throne to erect the deſpotiſm of the people. But Iriſh levellers had endeavoured to deſtroy the power and credit of the lords and commons, to erect the deſpotiſm of the throne.

The conduct of our miniſters, with reſpect to our catholic brethren, was in many inſtances extremely erroneous, in the courſe of laſt Summer. The moſt unfortunate, was their interfering with grand juries, againſt the catholics, becauſe they gave falſe hopes to the proteſtants, at the ſame time that they were

were exciting falſe fears againſt the catholics, and they took the lead in fomenting a religious war.

THE reſult of this interpoſition of our miniſters was, that they totally loſt the confidence of the catholics; wherefore, the catholics held a convention at Dublin, compoſed of delegates, from all parts of the kingdom. They framed a wiſe and temperate addreſs to his majeſty, ſtating their grievances, and praying his majeſty's interference with parliament, in their behalf. His majeſty graciouſly liſtened to their addreſs, and promiſed to recommend their caſe to his Iriſh parliament, and he fulfilled his promiſe, as fully appeared from the ſpeech at the commencement of this ſeſſion.

IT is the felicity of this iſland, that, however we may require to reform abuſes, we are not now, to ſeek for a conſtitution. We have a limited monarchy, the beſt form of government for rational and durable liberty. It is a fortunate circumſtance attending that monarchy, that the title of the family on the throne, is interwoven with the aſſurances of

our

our title of liberty; and now the king himſelf comes as the ſecond deliverer of his people: this we truſt the Roman Catholics will not forget, nor that the parliamentary perſecutions againſt them, which had been unremitting ſince the revolution, have ceaſed from the commencement of the reign of George III. who was the firſt prince on the throne ſince the impoſition of the penal ſtatutes that ventured to recommend their loyalty, and grievances to the conſideration of their countrymen. Wherefore, they are in gratitude bound, to be the prop of his crown, and the ſupport of our excellent conſtitution. And it is ſcarcely poſſible that they can ever for a moment be unmindful of what they owe to their beneficent ſovereign.

It would be doing injuſtice to the catholics, not to mention, that they to a man, abhor the late proceedings in France. They never make the conduct of that unfortunate and infatuated country, the theme of their praiſe; they have held no political correſpondence with foreign powers, nor rejoiced in the ſucceſſes that gave impunity to ruffians, who murdered their ill-fated and innocent prince; a

prince

prince of integrity, untinctured with ambition, and whoſe actions were only improper, when under the influence of thoſe who poſſeſſed leſs rectitude than himſelf.

WITH reſpect to the French revolution, the overthrow of deſpotiſm was to every honeſt man, an object of admiration. But the ſubſequent conduct of France, was neither an object of admiration nor imitation; it was an overthrow of theories, and a confuſion of principles, a frantic and impracticable purſuit.

AT this period, the conduct of adminiſtration indicated an alarm, and marked an apprehenſion of danger from within or from without. We were actually on the eve of a war with France, at ſuch a moment it behoved our parliament to exhibit undoubted proofs to the nation of their integrity, virtue and energy.

THE public mind was deeply diſguſted, and the cauſe of diſcontent had diffuſed itſelf through the nation. It was generally believed, that although the adminiſtration had promiſed

miſed œconomy, it had really practiſed profuſion; that the public money had been laviſhed and the taxes that were wrung from the vitals of the poor had been beſtowed upon the indolent and wealthy: it was alſo believed, that our repreſentatives were purchaſed with the public money to ſell their conſtituents.

WHEREFORE ſince public profuſion was one of the great cauſes of general diſcontent, public œconomy was the only meaſure to remove that ſource of diſcontent from the minds of the public. All real grievances ſhould be redreſſed, and no benefit withheld from the nation which ought to be granted to it, for the cauſe muſt be aboliſhed before it is poſſible to remove the public diſcontent.

OUR public taxes ought to be impoſed upon the proper ſubjects of taxation, and ſolely applied to the honeſt purpoſes of the ſtate. No civil nor political benefit, enjoyed by Great Britain ſhould be denied to Ireland; and our conſtitution ſhould be rendered equal to that of her's, in all its properties, privileges, and protection. We have heard it juſtly ſaid by a diſtinguiſhed character in the ſenate, in

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ſpeaking of Great Britain and Ireland *equal* "*dangers and equal benefits.* Let Ireland "ſhare in all the perils of England, and in "all the bleſſings ſhe enjoys". We muſt be their equals in misfortune; and why ſhould we be their inferiors in happineſs? The ſituation of the empire and the temper of the times, are but ill ſuited to the refuſal of all juſt and temperate demands on behalf of the people.

He is the true friend of the government, who would remove every cauſe of diſcontent from the minds of the people; and the government, which reſiſts ſuch meaſures, adopts the moſt effectual means to weaken and deſtroy itſelf. It is in the power of parliament to give ample ſatisfaction to a brave, loyal, and generous people, by redreſſing all their wrongs, and gratifying all their juſt deſires, for the bulk of the Iriſh nation are neither unreaſonable, nor ſeditious, they love their king, admire the conſtitution and wiſh only to purify and preſerve it.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

The Subjects of a more equal Representation of People in Parliament introduced by Mr. William Ponsonby—An address of Thanks presented by the House of Commons to the Lord Lieutenant for his Proclamation of the 8th of December, 1792 for dispersing all unlawful Assemblies and presenting Seditious Associations—The Catholic Business introduced by Secretary Hobart and the Bill in their favour carried—Mr. Grattan's Resolutions relative to Parliamentary Reform, got rid of on an Amendment of the Chancellor of the Exchequer—His Majesty communicates his Intentions relative to France, to the Parliament of Ireland—Their firm determination to Support his Majesty in the War—State of the Country as to its Finance—Mr. Forbes's Bill for limiting Pensions adopted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer—A place Bill, also the Establishment of a Treasury Board—An act for Preventing Conventions or other unlawful Assemblies—An Enquiry into the amount of the Population of Ireland—A Short

Review

Review of the State of the Empire from the Reign of William to the Year 1790, *and from that to* 1794—*Reflections which naturally reſult from the nature of the work and the delicacy of the undertaking—The happy State of Ireland when compared with other Countries and its own former Situation.*

A. D. 1793. THAT abuſes have crept into the ſyſtem of our parliamentary repreſentation are acknowledged univerſally by every member of the community. With a view to remedy theſe abuſes, early in this ſeſſion, Mr. William Ponſonby ſubmitted a propoſal to the houſe, for a more equal repreſentation of the people in parliament.

THE Ponſonby family have frequently made ſacrifices to the country. In the year 1769, they and their connections, were deprived of all their emoluments for ſupporting the privileges of the houſe againſt an altered money bill. And in 1789, they were alſo diſmiſſed from their employments, for defending the privileges of parliament

againſt an unconſtitutional attempt of the vice roy, and this was the third time in which they advanced to ſurrender great power, and all their monopolies to the good of the ſtate.

Such family ſacrifices to the public weal, juſtly entitle them to the thanks of the community, and add to that reſpectability, which they ſo eminently derive from their property, character, talents, and integrity. A committee was immediately appointed, to enquire into the ſtate of the repreſentation of the country.

At the cloſe of the preceding year, the lord lieutenant and privy council, had iſſued a proclamation for diſperſing all unlawful aſſemblies, and for preventing ſeditious aſſociations. This was occaſioned by ſome modern volunteer corps who had made uſe of diſaffected emblems. Theſe were univerſally deprecated in the ſtrongeſt terms and ought certainly to be oppoſed, but the old volunteers ſhould by no means be implicated in the charge.

The proclamation arraigned a body of men whom it deſcribed to be an aſſociation aſ-

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ſuming devices and emblems of diſaffection. But the miniſter had applied that to the volunteers of the city and county of Dublin, and under that colour diſperſed them. This certainly was impolitic, as a line of diſtinction ſhould have been draw between the old volunteers and the modern ones known by the appellation of *National Guards.*

An addreſs of thanks was unanimouſly agreed to by the houſe and was preſented to his excellency the lord lieutenant for communicating to parliament the above proclamation, and for the vigilance and attention which his excellency had manifeſted, to preſerve the public tranquillity; and in applauding the wiſdom of his excellency, in ſeparating thoſe who ſo laudably aſſociated for the purpoſes of defending this country, from foreign invaſion, from thoſe whoſe declared objects were tumult, diſaffection, and ſedition, and to aſſure his excellency that they would concur in ſuch meaſures, as would carry the ſaid proclamation into effect.

When the volunteers received the thanks of parliament, in the year 1779, the object

was to attach them to the parliament; and the object was a right one. But that now carried, was certainly to detach them from the parliament. The miniſter, in the proclamation, did not venture to arraign the old volunteers, neither did he attempt to arraign them in the addreſs, approving of the proclamation; on the contrary, they were objects of commendation in both. But when he ſpoke, he departed from the addreſs and proclamation, and propoſed ſuch an interpretation of both, as would enable him to diſperſe the old volunteers under the ſeeming ſanction of parliament.

Thus he made the houſe, at once praiſe the old volunteer corps and then put ſuch a comment on that praiſe, as amounted to a propoſal to diſperſe them for diſaffection.

Never ſince the revolution was there a time, when more prejudice prevailed againſt the catholics than laſt ſeſſion of parliament. But a favourable change of diſpoſition had now manifeſted itſelf, ſimply ariſing from the change of the times. Every rational proteſtant now ſaw the utter impoſſibility of maintaining a mo-

a monopoly oppoſite to reaſon, to the bulk of the people, and the inclination of the ſovereign. The conduct of the catholics had proved, that they were perfectly attached to the conſtitution, and at this period merited every encouragement parliament could beſtow.

WHEREFORE, in purſuance of his majeſty's recommendation, ſecretary Hobart introduced his bill for their relief. The outlines of which were to grant an unlimited extenſion of the right of franchiſe, and to effectuate this purpoſe, it was neceſſary to repeal the firſt of George II. by which Roman Catholics would not be permitted to vote in cities and towns corporate for magiſtrates. The next part of it was to repeal the ſixth of Anne, ſo far as it prohibits papiſts from being grand jurors, unleſs there are not a ſufficient number of Proteſtant freeholders to ſerve. The next was to repeal the twenty-ninth of George II. ſo far as allowing a challenge againſt any papiſt on a petty-jury, in cauſes where a proteſtant and papiſt are the parties.

It alſo propoſed that his majeſty ſhould be impowered and authoriſed, to enable the Roman Catholics to endow a college or univerſity, and ſchools. It alſo propoſed that the laws which prevented catholics from carrying arms, ſhould be ſo far repealed as to perſons poſſeſſing a certain degree of property.

Mr. Secretary Hobart ſaid that it was in the contemplation of the Engliſh government, to admit Roman Catholics to bear commiſſions in the army and navy, and that in due time, meaſures for the ſame purpoſe would be propoſed here, when a communication with the Engliſh government ſhould have been had, on that point.

It was wiſhed that Roman Catholics might be enabled to hold civil offices, but in that inſtance neceſſary limitations would have been expedient. Roman Catholics laboured ſtill under ſome ſeverities with reſpect to perſonal property, and as theſe ſeemed to exiſt from inadvertence, he propoſed to repeal them. Another material point in his propoſitions was, that the executive government might be enabled to grant commiſſions of the peace to Roman Catholics.

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It has always been our ambition, to contribute our humble mite to every meaſure, which in its operation might tend to make the Proteſtant and Catholic coaleſce into an united people, at leaſt while they regulated their religious worſhip under whatever different forms or modes they pleaſed, they ſhould concur in an ardent devotion to their common country.

We have long wiſhed that the time was come, which would form a new æra in the hiſtory of our country, in which religious diſſention ſhould be loſt in civil operation, in which comunity of intereſts and reciprocal good offices, ſhould root out prejudices and unite our hearts.

But until the enlightened ſpirit of liberal policy had given a progreſs to theſe rational diſpoſitions, a communication of political power could not be expected, for reconciliation muſt precede union, and aſſimilation before incorporation. It muſt be admitted by every one converſant in hiſtory, that violent and ſudden changes of power and property, whether the parties have been divided by religious

religious or political diſſentions, have always been dangerous and generally fatal to the ſtate.

THE truth is, thoſe who have been accuſtomed to power, cannot bear the privation or ſudden diminution of it with patience; and thoſe unaccuſtomed to it, will not exerciſe it with prudence, it is the progreſs of time alone, that can reconcile and aſſimilate, and it is the progreſs of affection alone that can regulate thoſe paſſions which make one ſide intemperate and the other intolerant.

IT muſt be admitted that there have been errors on both ſides, which ought now to be forgotten, and buried in oblivion, never to riſe again. The old dangers of popery which were uſed to alarm the proteſtants, are for ever extinct, and every benefit now conferred on our catholic brethren, ought to operate as an additional pledge of their affection, and as a hoſtage for their fidelity.

THE loyalty of the catholics for a century entitled them to thoſe great and important conceſſions, the legiſlature was now ready to confer

fer upon them. The Hiſtory of England, by Dr. Somerville a diſſenting clergyman, as fair and temperate a work as ever was peruſed: when ſpeaking of James II. he ſays, that though he kept up a conſiderable correſpondence and had aſſurances of aſſiſtance from many perſons in England, yet amongſt all his papers, there never appeared any offer of ſupport or invitation (after the articles of Limerick had been ſigned) to the abdicated monarch, from the Roman Catholics of Ireland, who had done ſo much in his cauſe.

THIS is a teſtimony in favour of catholicity, which we truſt will have a due effect on the ſuſpicions and jealouſies of many of our proteſtant brethren. We never, ſince the revolution, have heard of any riſing or intended riſing among the Roman Catholics; for the exceſſes of the lower orders cannot be conſidered as an inſurrection.

BEFORE Lord Cheſterfield came to Ireland, no man was more prejudiced againſt the catholics than he was, particularly from what he had heard concerning them in England. The commons wiſhed to ſtrengthen the hands of government

government by violent meaſures againſt Roman Catholics; they were oppoſed by the immediate friends of government in parliament, and when the lord lieutenant was urged by the dangers of popery, he delared he knew but of one dangerous papiſt in the whole country, a very beautiful young lady of that perſuaſion.

NOTHING but a retroſpect to their good conduct for 50 years before, could have inſpired Lord Cheſterfield with this confidence, and if he could confide in them on fifty years experience, much more ought we after the lapſe of more than century. After many long unintereſting and deſultory debates, Mr. Secretary Hobart's bill in favour of the Roman Catholics was carried; a meaſure which muſt afford ſatisfaction to every good citizen, and ought to ſatisfy the catholics. The wealth, proſperity and happineſs of the nation will be the reſult of ſuch liberal and prudent conceſſions. For it is an hiſtorical truth that cannot be impeached, that all the misfortunes of Ireland have originated from the diſunion of its inhabitants; that

as ſoon as the nation had become united; the great objects of liberty had been attained, but catholic emancipation had always been the earneſt of Iriſh freedom.

THE unanimity that conceded theſe progreſſive acquiſitions to catholicity, has ſtamped a double value on the thing conferred, an unanimity which is the certain ſymptom of departing prejudices, and the token of returning affection, the graciouſneſs of conceſſion on one ſide, will, we hope be followed by a grateful acceptance on the other, a conduct which muſt terminate in a communication of intereſts and affections between the ſubjects of a long divided kingdom.

IRELAND in conſequence of theſe ſalutary meaſures, will ſhortly take her place in the great rank of nations, and in every conflict with our enemies, the arm of the ſovereign, will be ſerved with the ſtrength of his people.

MR. GRATTAN read the following reſolutions before the committee appointed to enquire

quire into the ſtate of the repreſentation of the people in parliament. "Reſolved that "the repreſentation of the people is attended "with great and heavy charges, and pay- "ments, in conſequence of elections and re- "turns of members to ſerve in parliament, "and that ſaid abuſes ought to be aboliſhed.

"RESOLVED, that of the three hundred mem- "bers elected to ſerve in parliament, the coun- "ties and counties of cities and towns, toge- "ther with the univerſity, return eighty four "members, and that the remaining two hun- "dred and ſixteen are returned by boroughs "and manors."

"RESOLVED, that the ſtate of the repreſenta- "tion of the people in parliament, requires "amendment."

MR. GRATTAN then moved the firſt, which was oppoſed by the chancellor of the exche- quer, on account of the danger of teach- ing the public to deſpiſe the preſent ſyſtem, before a better one was provided; and by way of amendment, he moved the following reſolution.

"RESOLVED, that under the preſent ſyſ- "tem of repreſentation, the privileges of the "people

" people, the trade, and the proſperity of the " country, have greatly encreaſed, and that " if any plan be produced, likely to encreaſe " thoſe advantages, and not hazard what we " already poſſeſs, it ought to be taken into " the moſt ſerious conſideration. The amend- ment was carried by a conſiderable majority; thus the original motion was loſt.

Mr. Hobart on the 16th. of February de- livered a meſſage to the houſe of commons from his majeſty, relative to France. His ma- jeſty informed the houſe, that the aſſembly now exerciſing the powers of government in that country, without previous notice, had directed acts of hoſtility to be committed againſt the perſons and property of his ma- jeſty's ſubjects, in breach of the law of nations and of the moſt poſitive ſtipulations of treaty.

Thus, under ſuch circumſtances, his majeſ- ty had taken the neceſſary ſteps to maintain the honour of his crown; and to vindicate the rights of his people, and that his majeſ- ty relied with confidence, on the firm and effectual ſupport of the commons, and the zeal of a brave and loyal people, in proſecu- ting a juſt and neceſſary war, and in endea- vouring

vouring to oppoſe an effectual barrier to the further progreſs of a ſyſtem, which ſtrikes at the ſecurity and peace of independent nations, and which has been purſued in open defiance of every principle of moderation, good faith, humility, and juſtice."

An humble addreſs in purſuance of his meſſage was acceded to, by the houſe expreſſive of their hearty concurrence in the proſecution of the war, and of their effectual ſuppport on the occaſion.

If we pauſe for a moment, to take a view of the country, at the commencement of the French war, we will find from the receipts and diſburſements of the nation at Lady Day laſt, that the country was going on in the moſt proſperous manner, her trade encreaſing, and her revenue's riſing; but from that period, trade had drooped, and there was an actual deficiency in revenue, owing much to the diſturbed ſtate of the public mind, and the decline of trade occaſioned by high and enormous taxes.

As

As the national revenue had decreaſed, the national expence had encreaſed. Bread money lately granted to the army, canals and bounties on corn, together with the encreaſe in the fiſhing bounties, with public buildings, and a variety of other circumſtances contributed to make a conſiderable deficiency in the revenue.

The army was now to be encreaſed, the country to be put into a ſtate of defence, and a militia to be arrayed, and former deficiencies to be made good.

It appeared by the ſtatement of the chancellor of the exchequer, that his demands on the country this year amounted to 950,000l. by loan already granted 200,000l. bythe new loan moved for 250,000l. for the militia 300,000l. and by the ſum iſſued in ſupport of mercantile credit 200,000l.

The 200,000l. iſſued to ſupport the mercantile credit of the country, we will conſider as money advanced, which may probably be returned; but for the preſent the

advance

advance operated as much to the public inconvenience, as if it never were to be returned

A VERY great defalcation had taken place in the revenue, that for some months in the port of Dublin, it had not produced a single shilling to the treasury; the whole produce of it being scarcely sufficient to pay the officers of the custom house.

A GENERAL bankruptcy would have pervaded the commercial parts of the community, unless government had issued money in support of commercial credit. It was now evident, that in this year, the kingdom was to be burthened with upwards of a million extra, at a time when the revenue of our metropolis was not sufficient to pay its officers. At this time commercial calamity was general throughout the kingdom, and it was in vain to hope, that any parliamentary grant, would completely remedy it, as the whole revenue of the kingdom would scarcely be sufficient for that purpose.

ON

On this occaſion, the prudence of the chancellor of the exchequer was highly to be applauded. He did every thing on this trying emergency that a real affection for the country could effect, to ſerve the credit and commerce of the nation; and his candour was ſuch, that he promiſed as far as in him lay, to make every neceſſary reduction and retrenchment in the public expenditure. He admitted the principle of Mr. Forbes's penſion bill, by which the penſion liſt was to be limited in future to 80,000l. per annum.

The chancellor of the exchequer propoſed to introduce a bill to effect this meaſure, which would not only diminiſh the influence of the crown, but be a conſiderable ſaving of the public money. He however declared, that, at a time when a retrenchment of the public expence was to be made; it would be neceſſary to provide a civil liſt for his majeſty in lieu of his hereditary revenue.

It was intended, that the quantum of the civil liſt, ſhould be ſpecific, and granted for life, which would prevent an augmentation

of expence. Another object was, that penſioners during pleaſure, or for a term of years, were not to be eligible to ſerve in parliament in future.

By Sir John Parnell's intended arrangement, it appeared, that the amount of the civil liſt to be granted his majeſty, including the 80,000l. for penſions, would amount to 207,000l. annually. His majeſty had conſented, that the houſe, when providing a civil eſtabliſhment, for the ſupport of his crown and dignity, ſhould make ſuch uſe of the hereditary revenue, as might be thought neceſſary.

The Iriſh parliament acceded to a confirmation of the charter of the Eaſt India company, in which they were warranted fully by the conceſſion of an unreſtrained Weſt India trade. The Britiſh parliament had recently paſſed an act to permit goods of Aſia, Africa, or America, legally imported into Ireland, to be imported from thence into Great Britain. So far a friendly diſpoſition appeared in the parliaments of both kingdoms,

kingdoms, to ſtrengthen their connection by mutual acts of conceſſion.

And although a reſponſibility bill and the abolition of the police inſtitution had miſcarried, yet a penſion and place bill had been carried; which certainly were acquiſitions of conſiderable importance to the welfare and happineſs of the kingdom.

Having given government due credit for the wiſe meaſures attended to, we wiſh we could beſtow ſimilar praiſe on the inſtitution of the new treaſury board. Seven thouſand pounds per annum, were granted to two vice treaſurers reſident in England, by way of compenſation for bringing home thoſe offices. This added to ſeven or eight thouſand pounds annual ſtipend to be given to the commiſſioners of the new treaſury, would make the inſtitution ſtand the public in fifteen thouſand pounds a year.

Beside this; the places that had been created by the marquis of Buckingham, in lieu of treaſury offices, amounting to three thouſand pounds per annum, might fairly be

added to the eſtimate. Thus the whole coſt of the new board, would ſtand the nation in not leſs than eighteen thouſand pounds a year.

If ever there was a time, when reduction of expence, and a ſtrong government were neceſſary, this was the time, and that ſtrength in government, could not be obtained but by a ſtrong treaſury, and a ſtrong treaſury can only be procured by means of œconomy; but never ſuch œconomy as this.

This board had not been perfectly aſſimilated to that of Great Britain. It appeared to be an inefficient board, preſiding only, over the iſſues of the public money from the treaſury, without a ſhadow of reſponſibility, or controul, to enforce the payment of balances in the hands of collectors. The treaſury board might indeed examine the vouchers of the public accounts, but into the juſtneſs of the various expences, they never enquired.

In the Engliſh bill, the treaſury board was veſted with a power, to enforce the due collection of the revenue, and to take care, that the collectors paid in regularly what they collected.

ed. The benefit of this regulation in England, had been found ineſtimable. Though this revenue was more than 3,700,000l, yet in twenty five years, there was loſt by the failure of collectors, not more than three thouſand pounds; whereas in Ireland, though our revenue was not one third of that of England, there was loſt in the ſame period, a ſum of 107,000l.

It perhaps may be ſaid, that the circumſtances of the two countries were different, and prevented ſimilar modes from being adopted in both. However, the year 1787 produced an example of the practicability of enforcing the payment of collector's balances; for in that year, the balances were reduced from 107,000l. to 26,000l. in conſequence of the wiſe regulations of the lords juſtices.

But however neceſſary and ſalutary thoſe œconomic meaſures were at the preſent criſis, yet they were rejected, wherefore, our treaſury board had two much the appearance of a job, and the whole of the buſineſs ſeemed to be a mere colluſion,

An act paſſed this ſeſſion to prevent the election or appointment of delegated meetings or

other unlawful aſſemblies, under pretence of preparing or preſenting public petitions or other addreſſes to his majeſty or the parliament. Mr. Grattan ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the paſſing of the convention bill. He ſaid the object of it was not, the peace of the kingdom, but reflection on the volunteers and other great bodies and the gratification of ſpleen at the expence of the conſtitution, by voting falſe doctrine into law, and the brighter paſſages of our hiſtory into unlawful aſſemblies. He oppoſed it, becauſe he conceived it to be levelled againſt all popular delegation in time to come, and he conſidered it an attack on the principles of liberty. He ſaid, it ſeemed to be compounded of a diſlike to the people in general, and the Catholics in particular; a concern of paſt acquiſition, and a preſent apprehenſion of a parliamentary reform. It availed itſelf of the preſent panic to trench on popular rights, and it found ſupport in ſanguine but weak minds, who knew there was a diſeaſe, but had not ſenſe ſufficient to diſcover the remedy; and thought, that in time of local diſturbance, the remedy was a bill, not againſt the particular diſturbance, but againſt liberty and the people. He ſaid it was a ſacrifice made to

peace

peace when liberty became the victim. That the bill was nothing leſs than a direct attack on the vital principles of the conſtitution; as it ſtruck at the root of the liberty of the ſubject, and at the means by which the people at any time might aſſert their liberty. If the bill only tended to prevent repreſentative bodies from aſſuming functions peculiar to parliament, it would have been unobjectionable.

A WISE and ſalutary law paſſed this ſeſſion, for effectually preventing, during the preſent war between Great Britain and France, all traiterous correſpondence with his majeſty's enemies, or giving them any aid or aſſiſtance; alſo an act, to remove ſome doubts, reſpecting perſons in office, taking the ſacramental teſt, intended for the relief of the proteſtant diſſent- of the kingdom.

THE Militia Bill, was another wiſe and conſtitutional meaſure. It had long been adopted in England as the ſafeſt and moſt conſtitutional mode of defence, and it had long been the wiſh of the beſt and moſt popular characters in this kingdom, that it ſhould be carried into effect; while the exigencies of the times required ſuch a defence.

THE

THE meaſures which the lord lieutenant took in ſupport of public credit, had the beſt effects, and prevented the embarraſſments which for a time hung over commercial tranſactions; and his excellency received the approbation of parliament for the meaſure he had adopted on the occaſion; while they indemnified the bank of Ireland, for the ſums they had advanced to the commiſſioners appointed by his excellency, for the diſtribution of two hundred thouſand pounds, for ſupporting the mercantile credit of the kingdom. Although the aforeſaid ſum might be ſufficient for the preſent criſis; yet as credit depends as much on opinion as fact, a bill was introduced and paſſed, to enable government at any future period, when it might be neceſſary, to iſſue whatever ſum ſhould, at the time, be requiſite to have diſpoſed, in a manner ſimilar to the preſent.

A D. 1793. UPON the whole, the nation obtained many and important advantages during this ſeſſion of parliament, and ſome that the moſt ſanguine wiſhes of the people could have ſcarcely hoped for.

THE

THE repreſentatives of the people, on the acceſſion of his preſent majeſty, reſembled more the character of an ariſtocratic corporation, than the peerage at preſent. Here is a moſt ſalutary reform effected by the ſilent ſucceſſion of events and circumſtances, which thoſe who labour in the cauſe of democracy have never conſidered worthy of their attention. Many abuſes in legiſlation and manners have been reformed by the gentle hand of time, and the gradual but certain effects of events, in contraſt to the havoc of haſty and violent revolution.

THE act to prevent conventions has been conſidered by a writer of much celebrity, as an outrageous expedient of an unaccommodating government, to cruſh the expreſſion of well founded murmurs. Whether originally, the conventions were juſtifiable, or not, every candid man will allow, that abuſes had crept into theſe aſſemblies; wherefore it became the duty of government to ſuppreſs them, leſt the peace and happineſs of the kingdom ſhould have been diſturbed or endangered by them.

By the convention bill, the ſubjects right of petitioning is regulated and re-enacted. It is ſtrictly forbidden for that purpoſe to convene as delegates, inaſmuch as the parliament is conceived to poſſeſs that character, and alſo, becauſe that mode of collecting the public opinion, has no advantage to compenſate for the miſchief of inflaming the people and diverting their attention from their neceſſary occupations. Wherefore impartial men think, that by the Convention Bill, and the timely interference of the executive government, a number of evils were prevented, which otherwiſe might eventually have embroiled the kingdom, and overturned our happy conſtitution in church and ſtate.

With a view to aſcertain the population of Ireland, with as much preciſion as the importance of the ſubject demands; we have endeavoured to make out an exact account of the number of houſes in the kingdom. Theſe we find to amount to 794,000. At a moderate calculation ſeven perſons, may be allowed for each family, and this makes the population of Ireland at this day conſiſt of 5,558,000 ſouls. Of this number a million and a half are ſo

poor

poor, that they cannot contribute a ſhilling a year each to the exigencies of the ſtate, without oppreſſion, if we are to credit the returns before parliament, and reaſon from the reduction recommended to his majeſty by his officers relative to the hearth money; on the principle that there were as many ſubjects in the kingdom, on whom it would be a grievance to continue any tax.

We truſt that in the courſe of a few years, the genius of commerce and manufacture will remove the poverty of ſo great a number of our countrymen by affording them uſeful and beneficial employments, where their labour and induſtry may be both profitable to themſelves, and advantageous to government. To effectuate this much wiſhed for conſummation, it is requiſite that providence ſhould extend its tutelary care, to prolong the life and reign of a prince, inexpreſſibly dear and neceſſary to his people, whoſe experience matured by years, and chaſtened by adverſity, can alone heal the wounds, and give energy to the depreſſed ſtate of this country.

In the adminiſtration of public affairs, we may hope reaſonably under the auſpices of ſuch

ſuch a prince, for incorruptible integrity and unblemiſhed manners, ſevere œconomy, and ſtrict vigilance in every thing that regards the welfare or proſperity of the nation. By this we do not wiſh to throw blame on any ſet of men.

We are ſenſible how delicate it is, to hold even truths to the eye of prejudice or of party, and how reluctantly we allow the veil to be withdrawn from before the political ſanctuary, when we are intereſted in its concealment or its defence.

We feel how invidious is the taſk of appreciating the motions and actions of our contemporaries, our friends, and fellow citizens. And above all, we are perfectly ſenſible of our incapacity, to treat of matters yet recent, and obſcured by the paſſion and intereſts of the great actors themſelves. But great as theſe impediments are, they cannot induce us to relinquiſh our deſign. What narrative can be ſo inſtructive, or ſo intereſting to the preſent age, as a delineation of the period undertaken.

To

To thoſe who open the hiſtoric page, with a view to improve the underſtanding, who are competent to carry their reſearches beyond the external appearance of events, and to ſpeculate on the concealed cauſes which produce the elevation, or accelerate the decline of empires; there is not perhaps in the annals of time, a period more pregnant with political matter than the one which has intervened between the year 1688 and the preſent day.

We can trace few marks of national conſideration or honor, in the bigotted and tranſitory reign, of the unfortunate ſucceſſor of the profligate and diſſolute Charles II. and we do not diſcover much greater ſubject for pride and exultation, even under the temperate and elective government of William III.

Whatever obligations we may owe to the Prince of Orange, as our deliverer from civil and ſpiritual tyranny, his arms were conſtantly reſtrained by the generals, as his meaſures were uniformly defeated by the policy and power of Lewis XIV. After a perpetual and unequal ſtruggle, in which our commerce was almoſt annihilated, and in which the ſolitary

litary laurels of the Boyne and of La Hogue, were contraſted with the annual defeats on the continent, and the channel. Though the peace of Ryſwick produced a ſhort and deluſive calm, yet the crown of Spain, in violation of the moſt ſolemn renunciations, was quietly transferred, in the year 1700, on the extinction of the Spaniſh branch of the houſe of Auſtria, to a prince of France: while the beſt hours of William were engaged in ineffectual efforts, to prevent the fatal conſequences of an act, inconteſtibly injurious to the ſecurity, intereſts and grandeur of the Britiſh empire.

The female reign which ſucceeded, ſo long as it was conducted by the counſels of Godolphin, and the genius of Marlborough, preſents a ſtriking picture of military glory, and ſucceſſive triumphs. The court of Verſailles, accuſtomed to confer, condeſcended to ſolicit for peace; and Torcy, at Gertruydenberg in 1709, exhibited the humiliating ſight of a miniſter of Lewis, XIV. proſtrate before Britain and Holland.

But the imprudence or preſumption of an adminiſtration, intoxicated with proſperity, and

and unmindful of the viciſſitudes of human affairs, ſuffered the moment to elapſe in which the ſafety and intereſts of the empire, might have been for ever ſecured, on the moſt durable foundations. The horizon ſoon became darkened and the bright proſpect obſcured by clouds.

VILLARS reſcued France from her ſtate of danger and diſtreſs, while Oxford, and Bolingbroke, diſgraced the empire, and accelerated the death of their feeble ſovereign, by meaſures of puſillanimity and breaches of national faith.

THE trophies of Blenheim and Malplaquet were nearly obliterated by the defeat of Denain, and the peace of Utrecht. The houſe of Auſtria was betrayed, in that inglorious and diſhonourable treaty; and the evening of a reign ſo diſtinguiſhed and ſo ſplendid, terminated in weakneſs, and is only recollected with regret.

IF the annals of the laſt princeſs of the Stuart race, afford ſo little matter for hiſtoric praiſe, it is not in the labyrinth of continental politics and

and alliances, which characterized and compoſed thoſe of George I. that we can look for topics of eulogium, or ſubjects for admiration.

The naval victory, obtained by Byng in 1718, over the Spaniſh fleet, in the Faro of Meſſina, however brilliant and deciſive; ſo far from being productive of any advantage to the nation, counteracted every principle of wiſe and judicious policy. It ſtands contraſted with the fatal bankruptcy of the South Sea year; with the melancholy ſacrifice of Hoſier's devoted ſquadron, under the walls of Porto Bello; with a dereliction of the intereſts and honour of the empire which were rendered ſubſervient to injurious predilections and foreign acquiſitions.

The commencement of George II's. reign conducted as the greater part of that of his father had been, by the counſels of Walpole, diſcloſes ſcarcely a more exhilerating proſpect. It was indeed pacific; but this peace was the ignominious and ſupine inſecurity of a James; not the dignified and martial tranquillity of Elizabeth.

We are at a loſs to find, in this century any portion of time leſs diſtinguiſhed by wiſdom and vigour, or during which the empire had fallen into more complete inſignificance, than in that period which elapſed from the death of George I. in 1727, to the cloſe of Sir Robert Walpole's adminiſtration in 1742.

Though the ſubſervient fleet of the Britiſh empire eſcorted the younger ſon of Philip V. from Barcelona into Italy; and though we facilitated and advanced the grandeur of the houſe of Bourbon; though we tamely ſubmitted to the acts of violence exerciſed by Spain againſt our commerce in all the American ſeas; and abandoned the emperor Charles VI. to the united forces of France, Spain, and Sardinia, who in ſo unequal a conteſt diſmembered Naples and Sicily from the dominions of the houſe of Auſtria, and though, to complete the meaſure of incapacity and miſconduct, we even permitted Lewis XV. by incorporating the Dutchy of Lorrain with his hereditary poſſeſſions, to perfect and cement the French greatneſs; yet theſe migh-

ty and numerous conceſſions did not conciliate eſteem nor procure reſpect.

WALPOLE verſed in the art of parliamentary addreſs, and the ſcience of political venality; but conſcious of his incapacity to conduct the veſſel through the ſtorm which impended; after he had exhauſted every endeavour to detain his ſovereign and his country in diſgraceful neutrality, reluctantly reſigned the reins of power, which he had held too long, for the honour, glory and advantage of the Britiſh empire.

PELHAM the ſucceeding miniſter; though neither fortunate nor ſucceſsful in war, nor ſecure and undiſturbed in peace, yet was rendered reſpectable, by the luſtre of his private and perſonal virtues. The inglorious campaign of Fontenoy, the defeats of the allied army in Flanders, followed by the capture of Bergen-op-zoom, and the ſiege of Mæſtricht; the peace of Aix la Chapelle, humiliating and injurious to the empire; the ravages and hoſtilities continued to be exerciſed by France againſt the American colonies, and the Eaſt Indies, even ſubſequent

to

to that treaty: theſe ſubjects of general complaint and diſſatisfaction, which clouded the miniſtry of Pelham, conſoled the nation for his loſs when removed by death in the year 1754.

THE ſhort remaining period of the reign of George II. was equally calamitous and diſgraceful, till that memorable and brilliant, but tranſitory æra preceding its final termination, when the genius of Pitt renewed the glories and the ſucceſſes ſo long forgotten.

THE loſs of Minorca, and the ignominious convention of Cloſter Seven, were eraſed by the ſucceſſive conqueſts of Martinico, Canada, Plaſſey, Belliſle and the Havannah.

BUT the demiſe of the ſovereign in 1760, and the transfer of miniſterial authority, which ſucceeded; prevented the beneficial conſequences, which naturally might have been expected from this chain of victories.

A PEACE which never can be ſufficiently reprobated, and in which the ignorance of the intereſt of the nation was only exceeded by

the dereliction of the honour of the crown; reſtored to the two branches of the houſe of Bourbon, thoſe provinces and poſſeſſions, of which they had been deprived by Lord Chatham.

We will not enumerate the fleeting phantoms of adminiſtration; which annually appeared and vaniſhed; nor attempt to deſcribe that period which elapſed, from the reſignation of Lord Bute to the year 1770, when the reins of power were delegated to Lord North.

There are certainly few events contained within that portion of time, which can induce us to lament that it was not of longer duration. With ſtill greater reaſon, we wiſh to draw a veil over the ſeries of errors, incapacity, and miſconduct which preceded and produced that fatal war, terminated by the independence of America, and the diſmemberment of the empire.

In the ſhort period of ten years, we have ſeen the Britiſh empire, which had embraced both hemiſpheres, and to which India and America

America were only provinces; which had ſucceſsfully oppoſed, under the auſpices of Lord Chatham, the combined force of the houſe of Bourbon, and after giving laws to Europe, had diſpenſed peace to mankind; we have ſeen this empire ſhaken to its baſis, convulſed at home, and aſſailed on every ſide, vainly invoking the aid of the perfidious Catherine, whoſe fleets we had conducted into ſeas unknown to her barbarous ſubjects, and whoſe victorious banner we had taught to fly on the ſhores of Greece and Aſia Minor.

We have in the tranſitory period of ten years beheld the Britiſh empire bending beneath the complicated calamities of domeſtic diviſion, and foreign war, and ſinking under the preſſure of adverſe fortune, or feeble and puſillanimous councils; we have ſeen this expiring and diminiſhed empire, within the ſpace alluded to, riſe from the loweſt ſtate of humiliation and depreſſion, re-adjuſt her ſcattered inſignia, reſume her ancient luſtre, and wing a more ſublime flight than ſhe had ever held acroſs the political expanſe.

It is in vain that the moſt laborious reſearch would endeavour to parallel this extraordianry revolution in the hiſtory of modern Europe. It is only in the Athenian or Roman annals; it it only at the fatal periods of Marathon, and Cannæ that we ſee any example of a republic, ſuddenly and rapidly emerging from the loweſt point of ruin and calamity, into greater power and grandeur than ſhe had previouſly enjoyed.

A MILD and happy calm had ſmoothed the troubled waves, which the calamities of Lord North's adminiſtration and the anarchy which ſucceeded that unfortunate period had produced. The ſovereign was deſervedly dear to every rank and order of his ſubjects, who united in regarding him as their father and benefactor.

THE government beloved at home, was reſpected abroad; and the people, happy beyond the example of former times, looked up with equal affection and veneration towards the ſource of theſe multiplied benefits.

BUT

BUT in the midſt of this flattering aſpect of affairs, an unexpected and diſaſtrous change, was preparing to manifeſt itſelf, which no human prudence could have foreſeen, nor precaution delayed.

WE were deſtined to experience in its fulleſt extent, the mutability of fortune, and the fragility of greatneſs; to exhibit a leſſon to our own, and to future times, that the ſplendor and felicity of man, however ſolid the foundations on which they may ſeem to repoſe, are in the hands of a ſuperior being, who confers or withdraws them in an inſtant.

WE are arrived at that awful and affecting period when the feelings of all thoſe who ſhall peruſe theſe ſheets will be deeply intereſted. It is however neither in our plan nor in our intention, to relate the private hiſtory of that extraordinary period; or to drag into open day facts and anecdotes, which curious as they muſt appear to poſterity, are in every ſenſe unfit for the peruſal of the preſent age.

SENTI-

SENTIMENTS of duty, delicacy and reſpect towards a prince inexpreſſibly dear to his people; towards a queen who ſince the auſpicious date of her arrival in Great Britain, and in every relation of domeſtic life, has been exemplary and reſpectable; towards the illuſtrious perſons on whom the ſceptre of George III. muſt in the ordinary progreſs of human events at ſome future period devolve; even motives of prudence, decorum and propriety, arreſt the pen and induce us to draw the veil of oblivion over ſo melancholy a ſcene.

SUFFICE it to ſay that the malady which his majeſty had ſuffered during three months, and whoſe appearance had hitherto ſeemed to baffle all medical ſkill, gradually, but rapidly ſubſided. Sanity of mind and ſtrength of reaſon reſumed their empire, and left no trace of temporary ſubverſion.

TIME confirmed the cure, and reſtored to his ſubjects a prince, rendered ſupremely and peculiarly dear to them by the recent proſpect and apprehenſion of his loſs. The viſion of a regency faded, and was totally extinguiſhed by the ſovereigns reaſſuming all the regal functions.

THE

THE demonſtrations of national joy far exceeded any recorded in the Britiſh annals. Serenity and tranquillity, ſo long baniſhed, reſumed their place, and ſoon effaced the recollection of a calamity, not more awful and alarming in its appearance and progreſs, than ſpeedily and happily extinguiſhed.

THE attention of Europe, which had been powerfully attracted towards the Britiſh empire during the continuance of the ſevere malady of our gracious ſovereign, was now to be directed to another kingdom ſcarcely leſs productive of change, and replete with the moſt important conſequences.

FRANCE, ſo long enured to ſervitude, and only tracing the exiſtence of her liberties in the page of forgotten hiſtorians or antiquaries: whoſe fetters originally impoſed by Richlieu, and ſtrengthened by Mazarine, had been rivetted by the lapſe of near two hundred years; by the proud tyranny of Lewis XIV. and by the profligate deſpotiſm of his ſucceſſor.

FRANCE

FRANCE, ſtimulated by the writings of genius and philoſophy, which in defiance of arbitrary power have dignified and enlightened the preſent age, aſpired to freedom.

THE weakneſs of the ſovereign; the incapacity and timidity of his miniſters; the exhauſted ſtate of the treaſury and finances, the pertinacious oppoſition of the parliament of Paris to regiſter or ſanction the royal edicts for the impoſition of new taxes; the failure of harveſts, and conſequent augmentation in the price of bread, all theſe concurring circumſtances contributed to produce and accelerate a revolution.

To the admiration and aſtoniſhment of Europe, an enthuſiaſtic paſſion for liberty pervaded all France, and the revolution, which commenced on the banks of the Seine, ſpread with equal rapidity and unanimity to the Alps and Pyrenees, to the Rhine and the Mediterranean.

To the limited and erring eye of man, incapable of pervading futurity, and of removing the darkneſs that ſurrounds it, this

was

was an event no leſs ſingular than extraordinary; particularly in an abſolute monarchy, ſo ſtrongly cemented as that of France ſeemed to have been, and in which loyalty was eſteemed to be the characteriſtic of every deſcription of citizens.

At this period, France exhibited a picture truly dreadful; from the month of October, 1789, that unhappy country has been a ſcene of anarchy, diſtraction and calamity, diſtinguiſhed by acts of feſtivity, barbarity and ſlaughter.

The depreſſion and humiliation of the clergy, the ſale of eccleſiaſtical property; the annihilation of the orders of the nobility, which were nearly coeval with the reign of Clovis; the abolition of the peerage, and the dangerous renewal of a paper currency totally deſtitute of any ſolid ſupport, were meaſures in a great degree without any precedent, in the hiſtory of other modern European nations.

It has not even hitherto been aſcertained or exemplified, ſince the extinction of the Roman freedom by Marius and Sylla, that a people whoſe

whoſe numbers exceed twenty millions, are capable of being permanently governed under a free conſtitution. Nor has mankind yet ſeen any inſtance of a capital, and a country habituated for ages to deſpotiſm, ſunk in pleaſures, loſt to public principle, deſtitute even of the forms of external reſpect for the national religion, and only intoxicated with the ſpeculations of a diſtempered and viſionary philoſophy which ever aſpired, or attained to a well regulated and wiſely cemented liberty.

It was not in ſuch a ſtate of morals, or of ſociety, that the Athenians broke the fetters of arbitrary power, when rouſed by Harmodius and Ariſtogiton. The elder Brutus bore no ſimilarity to Mirabeau, or to La Fayette.

Rome vainly aſſaſſinated her dictator, when public virtue was no longer to be found in the ſenate, nor among the people. The mountaineers of Switzerland, who threw of the yoke of the houſe of Auſtria; and the oppreſſed peaſants of the low countries, who revolted from the tyranny of Philip, II. were poor, hardy and martial.

The

THE Engliſh parliament, which oppoſed, and ultimately vanquiſhed Charles I. called upon a nation, which however inflamed by fanaticiſm, was unſubdued by luxury, and uncorrupted by venality.

TIMES of effeminacy and refinement have not hitherto been found to produce a plant, of ſo hardy and vigorous a nature, as freedom; and if we are deſtined to ſee in the hiſtory of France, an example of this extraordinary contradiction to the reſult of all experience, it will be a ſtriking inſtance of the inſufficiency and fallibility, of human wiſdom or obſervation.

THE natural levity, and characteriſtic inconſtancy of the French, may conduce to render them weary of a poſſeſſion, which, however ineſtimable in its nature, is neither to be attained, nor preſerved, without unremitting vigilance and exertion.

THE ceſſation or ruin of many branches of trade, neceſſarily reſulting from the late convulſions; the ſeverity of the taxes, which a free government is compelled to exact, in common

common with the moſt deſpotic: the long habits of unconditional ſubmiſſion, ſo forcible in their operation on the mind and character: all theſe principles may ferment, and ultimately burſt into action.

THESE reflections and conſiderations may inſpire ſome reaſonable doubt reſpecting the total ſubverſion of the regal power and the permanancy of a free conſtitution in France.

THAT powerful monarchy which for a century and a half, had inſpired terror, and whoſe reſtleſs ambition had been ſo dangerous to every ſurrounding country; which had twice in that period, nearly ſubjected Holland, to its yoke; which placed Philip V. on the Spaniſh throne in 1700, and raiſed an Elector of Bavaria to the imperial dignity at a ſtill more recent period; that power occupied in endleſs metaphyſical diſquiſitions upon the rights of men, or employed in deſperate projects of revenue and finance; appears now to be much more dangerous to the ſafety and tranquillity of Europe by her principles and doctrines, than hitherto ſhe had been by the force and power of her arms.

THE

THE actual ſituation of the Britiſh Empire at the concluſion of the year 1790 realized the warmeſt wiſh of the miniſter and the ſovereign. The object which William vainly ſought to attain, which Godolphin and Marlborough allowed to eſcape; and which Chatham was not permitted to accompliſh; was reſerved for the preſent age to behold.

THE monarchies of France and Spain have been ſucceſſively humbled and reſtrained without the neceſſity of having recourſe to the ſword. The contraſt between Great Britain and France at the cloſe of the year 1790 was truly ſtriking.

THE one enjoying, all the advantages of eſtabliſhed order; conducted by a government equally vigorous and popular; meeting every pecuniary embarraſſment or impoſition with new and unexampled reſources; ſtrengthening her credit, and extending her commerce while ſhe covered the ocean with her navy, and ſpread the glory of her name over every quarter of the globe; became by general conſent the acknowledged arbitreſs of Europe; and

and to her poſſeſſion of external conſideration and reſpect, uniting every internal ſource of wealth and felicity.

The other ſtruggling through difficulties, to complete a ſyſtem of liberty; and attempting to renovate her diſordered finances plunged into almoſt irremediable anarchy and confuſion; the energy and activity of the crown withdrawn, and a ſpirit of licentiouſneſs, the moſt fatal to every national and public effort, pervading all the naval and military departments.

It is not our intention to delineate the melancholy reverſe that has taken place in the affairs of Europe, and particularly in the Britiſh empire, ſince the year 1790 to the preſent period; we neither will condemn nor praiſe the origin or continuation of the preſent diſaſtrous war. The nature of the ſubject is rather embarraſſing to the man who ventures to relate the tranſactions of the time in which he lives, and of which he forms himſelf, though an imperceptible yet a real and efficient part, it is not a ſufficient juſtification to undertake ſuch a taſk, that the mild genius of the

the century in which we write or the freedom which enables us to dictate without apprehenſion, apear to liberate us from every reſtraint.

THERE are feelings in a generous mind which ſuperſede the cold principle of mere acquieſcence with the law, and conſequently far ſuperior in their operation to theſe regulations impoſed by courts of juſtice or legiſlative ſtatutes.

IT is to theſe reſtrictions that we ſhall ſubject the pen. For it is only for thoſe, who can elevate their minds above the little partialities and prejudices of the day, to affix the ſentiment of approbation or cenſure on the preſent war.

IN the preſent embarraſſed ſtate of European politics, it is not in the power of the philoſpher or hiſtorian to confer on them his cenſure, or his admiration. We muſt wait with the ſollicitude of good citizens, until the preſent ferment ſubſides, and peace be once more reſtored to the European world, before we hazard any opinion on the war, which now blazes through every corner of Europe.

It will be more judicious to turn our eyes from the melancholy picture exhibited by the preſent convulſions of Europe; to the more animating and exhilarating ſcene preſented by Ireland. A kingdom which in the courſe of a few years, has emerged from the loweſt ſtate of thraldom and dependence to that of freedom and emancipation; a country accompanied with every circumſtance of internal repoſe, an external proſperity; with encreaſing ſymptoms of national conſideration and importance. Such are the bleſſed effects of the happy government we live under, and which cannot fail to endear us ſtill more to it, from a compariſon with that ſtate which is falſely called a government of liberty, and equality, but more juſtly that of anarchy, rapine, and murder.

The meretricious beauties of viſionary republics may dazzle the unthinking multitude by their falſe ſplendour, but never did, nor is it poſſible they can beſtow the permanent benefits of proſperity and happineſs equal to thoſe enjoyed under ſuch a monarchy as ours.

The

THE period which elapſed from the commencement to the cloſe of the ſeſſion of the year 1794, affords few materials for hiſtory, drawn from the interior events of the time.

A. D. 1794. THE parliament met with the ſingular phenomenon, of no amendment being propoſed to the addreſs in either houſe. The old ſteady opponents of the preſent miniſtry ſquared their conſciences and conduct upon this occaſion, to the ſuperſeding neceſſity of ſupporting the meaſures that were adopted by Great Britain. Upon this principle did Mr. Grattan and many other patriotic members, tender their ſervices to miniſtry which for ten years they had uniformly oppoſed. But it is to be preſumed that the ſingle queſtion of war was either the pretext, or the ground for this coaliſion.

THE prorogation of the parliament almoſt without a debate, beſpoke the moſt unreſerved and unconditional adoption of the preſent ſyſtem of meaſures; and nothing ſurely could

could more emphatically anſwer the views of the miniſter than this paſſive ſubmiſſion to all his commands.

IRELAND now in the boſom of repoſe, ſaw her commerce and manufactures expanding, her credit augmented, and her name and character taking their place in the ſcale of nations. We paſs over in ſilence the little broils and diſturbances excited in ſome parts of the kingdom by perturbed ſpirits, for the vile purpoſe of ſtigmatizing a brave and loyal people.

THE parliament which was to have met on the 4th of December, was prorogued to the 22d of January, in order to give time for the previous arrangements in the miniſterial departments. A preliminary ſtipulation with the miniſter previous to the ſeceſſion of the Portland party from their old friends, was underſtood to be an unconditional diſpoſal of the whole patronage of this kingdom, and full liberty to introduce ſuch ſyſtems of reform, as ſhould be deemed neceſſary and expedient for the welfare and happineſs of the nation.

BUT

But the miniſter had either been crafty, ambiguous, or haſty in negociating. He now poſitively objected againſt the removal of any of his old faithful and zealous friends. They might only command the future patronage as it ſhould drop in. The conteſt became ſerious, but at length it was compromiſed; and it was generally underſtood, that a certain party was to have been given up, on condition that the lord chancellor ſhould retain the ſeals.

CHAP. XIV.

Earl Fitzwilliam appointed to the Government of of Ireland, in the room of Lord Westmoreland—a Sketch of his short Administration—The State of the Country, and the national Debt—Arrival of Earl Camden—A disorderly Mob attack the Lord Chancellor, immediately suppressed—Observations on such tendencies in the populace—The original frame of Government in Ireland—The Cause of its tardy Progress in Civilization, and in its Proficiency in the Arts of Refinement and in the fine Arts—A Plan for the extension and improvemeut of the fine Arts—Establishment of the Royal Irish Academy—Its utility—Delegates from the Catholics of Dublin sent to petition his Majesty for a total Emancipation—Returned with what was deemed an unsatisfactory Answer—Make their report to a Meeting convened at Francis Street, Chapel—Their Resolutions—A Number of Students of the University attend the Meeting—The dawn of an Union among the People—Reasons assigned why a Consummation so much to be wished for cannot reasonably be expected

to

to take place—The augmentation of the Militia productive of Affrays and Riots—The due explanation of the Syſtem would have prevented them—The inattention of the Civil Power to their Duty—The proper Means of preventing Outrage—The preſent awful State of Europe—In the Houſe of Lords the Bill for the relief of the Brewery poſtponed for its inconſiſtency and abſurdity—Obſervations on the Revenue Syſtem.

A. D. 1795. ON the 4th of January, of this year, Earl Wentworth Fitzwilliam entered on the government of this kingdom, in the room of Lord Weſtmoreland; it is not our intention to delineate minutely the meaſures of this tranſitory adminiſtration, juſt exhibited to Iriſhmen, as Marcellus was to the Romans, and ſnatched away by an extinction as haſty, and as much lamented.

THE genius of Ireland, long fettered and obſcured, began now to aſſert its ancient energy, and liberated from the oppreſſion of a foreign yoke, was preparing to re-appear on the theatre of nations, from whence ſhe had been baniſhed, by internal calamities and external bondage.

ANI-

ANIMATED addreſſes replete with attachment and loyalty, were preſented to lord Fitzwilliam from all quarters of the kingdom, and from every claſs and deſcription of people; and his excellency was extremely ſenſible of theſe genuine marks of affection. The native elevation of his mind, and the magnanimity which has ever marked his character rendered him incapable of deſcending to the little artifices of mean and crooked politics.

DURING his excellency's continuance in this kingdom, the probity of his private life pervaded and marked his public line of conduct; and his ſhort adminiſtration united under his banners, the virtue, energy and patriotiſm of the nation; accompanied with national confidence, and every principle of ſound and generous policy: and no viceroy ever departed the kingdom ſo ſincerely and univerſally regretted.

PREVIOUS to this melancholy event, Earl Fitzwilliam received the thanks of both houſes of parliament, for his conduct, which they declared, had not only gained their, but the confidence of the people. We are not as yet fully

fully competent to unravel the real nature of the miſunderſtanding between Earl Fitzwilliam and the Britiſh cabinet, which occaſioned his ſudden departure from the kingdom; and to deal in fanciful conjecture on a ſubject of ſuch importance, would be as highly diſreſpectful to Earl Fitzwilliam, as it would be to the reſpectable characters, who compoſe the Britiſh adminiſtration

The liberality of parliament kept pace with the exigencies of the empire; the enormous ſupply of 1,700,000l. was granted to his majeſty, in order to enable him to proſecute with efficacy and vigour, the preſent war. The hearth money was taken off the poor, and thrown on the rich, as all houſes having but one hearth were exempted from the tax, and the encouragement ſo long wanted was at length given to the brewery.

Last year the commerce and revenue of the country had conſiderably decreaſed, but the ſtatement of the chancellor of the exchequer ſhews, that in the courſe of a few

months

months the nation was in credit, by no leſs a ſum than 270,433l. Laſt year alſo our eſtabliſhments were two years in arrear, but the treaſury was now in ſuch a ſtate, as not only to be able to anſwer whatever demands could be made on it, but had a very conſiderable reſerve.

Let us now advert to the debt of the nation. In the year 1791 it was 2,231,000l. In 1793, amounted to 2,344,000l. and at preſent it is no leſs than 3,082,000l. but by the great meaſures recently obtained from the preceding adminiſtration, conſiderable retrenchments had taken, and are ſtill likely to take place.

By the penſion bill, there would be an annual ſaving of 44,000l. and by the limitation of the civil liſt there would be an annual ſaving of 22,000l. on the uſual exceedings of concordatum, amounting in all to the ſum of 66,000l. a year.

In juſtice to the ſupporters of the Fitzwilliam adminiſtration, it muſt be admitted, that their perſeverance obtained from the laſt

laſt adminiſtration the three important meaſures above-mentioned, and it ſeemed to be their determination to make every poſſible retrenchment, as far as the circumſtances of the times and the ſituation of the country would permit.

On the 25th of March Earl Fitzwilliam departed the kingdom, as univerſally regretted, as beloved; a nobleman whoſe private and public character, will in this country continue to diſtant ages, a theme for panegyric and admiration, diſtinguiſhed for candour, friendſhip, liberality, and genuine charity, diveſted of oſtentation.

On his departure, his grace the lord primate and the lord chancellor were ſworn lords juſtices of Ireland; the ſpeaker could not be appointed without vacating his ſeat by a clauſe in a late act of parliament which has been ſince done away. They held the reins of government until the 31ſt of March, the day on which Earl Camden arrived and took upon him the government of the country.

After

After his lordſhip was ſworn into office, the lord chancellor on his return from the caſtle to his houſe in Ely Place, was inſulted in ſo groſs a manner, by a diſorderly mob, that it became neceſſary to order out the guards from the caſtle, both horſe and foot; who accompanied the chancellor to his houſe, and in a ſhort time ſtruck ſuch terror into the multitude, that the manifeſt tendency to riot and turbulence, was happily ſuppreſſed without much violence or blood-ſhed.

Such mobs reflect diſgrace on the police of the metropolis, and ſerve to tarniſh the reputation of the kingdom in foreign countries. The facility with which this mob was ſuppreſſed, proves fully that it was not the effect of premeditated deſign.

A Number of unemployed tradeſmen, have frequently teſtified a ſpirit of combination on many occaſions which had been productive of looſe habits, and diſorderly and riotous diſpoſitions.

During

DURING the ſpace of a few years, commotions in Ireland, have aſſumed a menacing aſpect. Indeed the more recent diſturbances particularly in 1792, were not only exaggerated but encouraged in the different counties in the kingdom by certain individuals, who choſe this mode of rendering themſelves of conſequence, by repreſenting to government in pompous diſplay, their great exertions for the preſervation of the peace in their reſpective counties.

THEY firſt diſperſed rumours among the people of great and oppreſſive taxes, that were to be impoſed upon them, and then purpoſely avoided explaining the nature of the militia inſtitution, which the ignorance of the people converted into an alarming and dangerous innovation. Theſe concurring circumſtances were productive of ſome miſchief, which would have been entirely prevented by a proper explanation of the militia act, and other lenient and prudent meaſures.

BUT the misfortune of this kingdom has been, that in the elevated ſtations of adminiſtration

tration have been more remarkable for their regard to private emolument, than public conſiſtency; conſequently government has few adherents beyond the pale of their own patronage.

For although commotions are by no means palatable to the intelligent part of the community, however few conſider themſelves bound to ſtep forward to their immediate ſuppreſſion, becauſe they look on the government as hoſtile to their views and intereſt, and behold with ſilent approbation every new embarraſſment and annoyance they meet with.

But the incentives to turbulence having been almoſt completely removed by the communication of political privileges and power to the great body of the people, a repetition of ſuch cannot reaſonably be apprehended.

By the enſuing election there will be no leſs an addition to the conſtituent body, than fifty thouſand electors, and we may with certainty conclude that upon the whole ſubſequent general

general election, the addition will not be leſs than one hundred thouſand electors. This certainly will in proceſs of time render bribery and corruption at elections, almoſt if not totally impracticable.

As all reaſonable grounds of diſſatisfaction are therefore removed from our catholic brethren, it will not be conſidered as ſpeculative conjecture, to ſuppoſe that induſtry and contentment will take place of that indolence and diſquiet which have for many years pervaded the land.

THE preſent period of our hiſtory, unfolds a pleaſing and fair proſpect of harmony and happineſs, which muſt for ever limit and reſtrain the artful deſigns and infamous ſchemes of any future miniſter who might be diſpoſed to carry into execution, meaſures hoſtile to the intereſt, happineſs, and proſperity of the country.

HENCEFORWARD there will not be, as formerly, any party the peculiar favourites of the ſtate, as equal confidence and protection

tion have been communicated to all, to the total extirpation of jealousy dissatisfaction and prejudice.

Solid and real privileges have at length superseded nominal freedom, and an impartial and kind government cannot fail to conciliate the attachment of peaceable and well affected subjects.

To an impartial observer, the original system of government in this country, and not any thing in the disposition or character of the people, has rendered the civilization of Ireland extremely tardy in its progress, and while a trace of the barbarous institution remained, it could not be supposed that our advances in refinement could bear any proportion to that of the sister kingdom.

To the same cause, may be ascribed the languid state of literature and the fine arts in this kingdom, for a number of years past. The injury that must have resulted to the community from inattention to these important objects, is self evident, and requires no kind of comment.

In

In Great Britain, the encouragement and patronage given to the arts and ſciences, throw a luſtre on the national character, and amply reward the munificence that has raiſed them to ſuch eminence. Want of genius is not attached to our ſoil, nor has it been the cauſe of the evil.

In the courſe of the preſent century, Ireland has produced a number of ingenious artiſts, though deprived of moſt of the advantages that other kingdoms enjoy, and which are abſolutely neceſſary to create artiſts. Thus providence in vain beſtowed genius, when the means of diſplaying it, are denied for want of public patronage.

Every encouragement ought to be afforded to the arts, for by them the national manufactures and the national taſte are refined and improved: wherefore, every means ſhould be uſed, to aid their progreſs and culture, by exciting a ſpirit of emulation among artiſts, while latent genius is called forth by public liberality.

An aſſociation for this laudable purpoſe ought to be eſtabliſhed, as through the medium of a ſociety, artiſts would become known to each other, and not only acquire ſtrength and ſtability by coalition, but information and improvement by aſſociation.

The few attempts that have been made in this kingdom to revive the arts, were either conſtructed on too confined a baſis, or injudiciouſly planned; for they ſunk almoſt as ſoon as formed, and left an unfavourable impreſſion on the minds of many, who were friendly to the cauſe, that, in a peculiar manner, tended to their depreſſion.

In the year 1787, the Dublin artiſts held a meeting, for the purpoſe of deviſing the beſt means for promoting the fine arts. Their deſign was to inſtitute a Muſeum for the reception and diſplay of paintings, drawings, ſculpture and various other performances, in arts, mechanics, and manufactures.

Such an inſtitution was much wanted in the metropolis, and by the ability and zeal of Mr. Thomas Ellis, the idea was matured, planned and digeſted.

The

THE Earl of Charlemont, and many other diſtinguiſhed characters, to whom Mr. Ellis ſubmitted his plan for eſtabliſhing a *Muſeum*, on the above principles, favoured it with their ſanguine approbation, and their warmeſt ſupport. With the ſanction and countenance of ſuch exalted characters, the artiſts deſigned to take a houſe, ſuitable to the object of the intended muſeum.

SUCH artiſts as choſe to exhibit their works in this repoſitory of the arts, were to be exempt from all kinds of expence, as well as thoſe, whoſe taſte or curioſity might prompt them to viſit the muſeum.

FROM ſuch an inſtitution many great advantages would naturally reſult. The beſt exhibitions of the fine arts would have been reſtored to the Iriſh profeſſors; for want of which, they have for ſome time been gradually on the decline. Few men of genius in theſe days, remain in the country, for want of proper encouragement, and ſuch as do continue, ſcarce find any for the exertion of their talents.

THE emigration of artiſts, as above mentioned, is not ſolely confined to them, but extends

to almoſt every kind of art and manufacture, to the great injury of the nation and the manifeſt advantage of other kingdoms. A very material advantage would reſult from the permanence of the muſeum, as annual exhibitions could never anſwer the purpoſes which either the artiſts or the public ſeek for; perpetual ones would; as the frequent opportunities of diſplaying their performances, would operate as an inducement to catch the artiſt's fancy on the wing; and however tardy they may be in finiſhing their pieces, they might always exhibit ſuch of their works, as would beſt ſuit their expectations; by ſuch means, a ſpirit for the arts, manufactures and mechanics of the country, would be revived.

A MUSEUM of this kind would attract the notice of mechanical geniuſes of every kind, and the exhibitions themſelves, would receive conſiderable improvement by the criticiſm of viſitors. It is therefore reaſonable to hope that ſuch a place would become an almoſt certain market for men of different mechanical avocations to apply to for ingenious perſons of all deſcriptions.

FOREIGN

FOREIGNERS as well as natives, excelling in their various arts, would be induced by such an institution, to send in samples of their performances, or attend personally with them, as they would have such fair advantages of displaying their abilities, without spending their time in want and hopeless expectation, arising from promises of recommendation to employment. But by this constant exhibition, if an artist has merit, let him be rich or poor, native or foreigner, there are his works and there is the man. To men of liberal minds, it is but a melancholy reflection, that many great and bright geniuses have lived and died unknown, perhaps starved, whilst in pursuit of some useful project, or for want of an opportunity of discovering their talents have sunk into the grave, wretched pictures of want and misery. Perhaps their loss was an irreparable one to society:—such men may be aptly compared to beauteous flowers growing in a desert, which bloom for a while, and then, perish in a gradual decay, visible only to their creator.

BY such an institution as this, the sons of art might be called forth; they might be aided in their pursuit, encouraged in their industry, and introduced into the world, an honour, ornament, and advantage to their country.

How many do the fertile imaginations of one ingenious artiſt or mechanic give bread to? As the richeſt gems are found in the bowels of the earth, ſo frequently in the miſerable habitations of the poor, the brighteſt talents and the fineſt geniuſes are diſcovered. Providence gives the ſoil, but it is the labour and ingenuity of man, which muſt bring forth the abundant produce.

Mr. Ellis, a worthy and ingenious man, by his own individual exertion has eſtabliſhed a muſeum in Mary Street, which, if general encouragement, or parliamentary aid had countenanced, would ſhortly become an object of public utility. The plan requires conſtant attention, much labour, and conſiderable expence; and muſt, therefore, inevitably fall to ruin, unleſs liberally encouraged and countenanced, by the bounty of parliament, with the generoſity and munificence of the public.

At Mr. Ellis's muſeum, the works of many famous artiſts, are to be ſeen, and among others thoſe of a riſing and very promiſing genius, Mr. William Cuming, a young man of acknowledged merit, whoſe productions recently

met

met with a decided and flattering preference from the corporation of the metropolis; when propoſals were held out to Iriſh artiſts, for the beſt portrait of a late truly reſpectable Lord Mayor.

It would be an injuſtice to many diſtinguiſhed characters in the kingdom, to omit mentioning, that they avail themſelves of every opportunity not only to promote, but to encourage, the arts and artiſts of their own country. Lord Shannon, the right honourable the Speaker, Colonel Burton Conyngham, Col. Hayes, of Avondale, and Gen. Cunninghame, ſignalize themſelves on this, as well as on every other occaſion, where the trade, manufactures or agriculture, of the kingdom are concerned.

The civilization and proſperity of the nation have been conſiderably retarded, for want of encouraging the fine arts in this kingdom; and nothing ſhort of parliamentary interference, can ever raiſe them from their languid ſtate, and give them that efficacy and energy ſo neceſſary to render them of public utility.

We ſhall ſay little of the ſtate of ſcience and literature in the kingdom at this day, *jubes renovare dolorem!* where are we to look for another Mæcenas, who animates men of letters, not only by his example, but by his generoſity? Alas! the greater part of men of fortune, whoſe peculiar province it is, to encourage ſcience by a well timed liberality, are ſo ſurrounded by objects of luxury and diſſipation, that they have neither the means nor the time to attend to literary merit. It is a melancholy fact, that men of merit and genius in the literary world, can ſcarce make out a ſubſiſtence by their labours, much leſs procure an eſtabliſhment, which would relieve them from the neceſſity of writing for bread.

At this enlightened day, ſhall we hurt the feelings of a once generous nation, no leſs diſtinguiſhed for taſte than for liberality, by aſſerting that men of real genius not only languiſh in the ſhades of obſcurity, but are literally ſtarving? Where has fled our ancient love of ſcience, and our boaſted ſpirit of generoſity?

Shall

SHALL the crafty and perfidious Catherine of Ruſſia not only confer penſions on many learned men, but adopt every means in her power, to encourage native genius in her dominions by the foundation of colleges and academies; with ſuch profuſe liberality in the ſupport of them, as have encouraged men of ſcience, from moſt countries in Europe, to frequent her courts, *fas eſt ab hoſte doceri*; even let the example of ſuch a policy ſhame us into imitation, and let not the annals of a beneficent prince be tarniſhed for want of true generoſity, and due regard to merit and genius.

SOME thirty years ſince, more of the public money had been voted away, by the *ſcrambling committee* of the houſe of commons, for mere jobs, in one ſeſſion of parliament, than would be neceſſary from that period to the preſent, for the adequate encouragement of ſcience and genius. Such a well-timed and judicious bounty would be eſteemed, in the opinion of the ingenious part of mankind, an atonement for many of the diſgraceful errors of the period alluded to.

How far, amidſt the cloud of diſcouragement which, for ſome time, has hung over the drooping genius of literature in this kingdom; a few men have cultivated their reaſon, and eſtabliſhed conferences for the mutual communication of learned diſcoveries, and for the advancement of ſcience, polite literature and antiquities. Theſe gentlemen, in the year 1786, have procured a patent, and were incorporated under the denomination of the *Royal Irish Academy*. They have ſince conſiderably encreaſed their numbers, and have been of much ſervice in the cauſe of ſcience. Their learned preſident animates the ſociety, not only by his example, but by his bounty.

NOTWITHSTANDING the manifeſt diſadvantages and diſcouragements, that literature has laboured under in this kingdom, yet Ireland at the preſent moment, is diſtinguiſhed for ſome men of ſuperior genius, who have drawn on themſelves and their native country the eſteem and attention of ſurrounding nations.

MR. KIRWAN is univerſally allowed to rank among the firſt chemiſts of the age. Drs. O'Halloran, Campbell and Crawford, are conſidered

ſidered elegant and elaborate authors. Drs. Drennan, Crumpe, and M'Kenna are writers, juſtly eſteemed for their perſpicuity, preciſion and judgment. Col. Vallancey, Dr. Ledwich, Capt. Ouſley, and Meſſrs. Beaufort, Walker, Hamilton, and O'Flanagan appear foremoſt in the liſt of Iriſh antiquarians. Meſſrs. Griffith, Barber, and Campbell, have evinced no ſmall ſhare of judgment in their productions. Dean Hamilton, Dr. Young, and the two Stacks are celebrated for claſſic elegance, mathematical preciſion, and philoſophic reſearch. The Rev. Mr. Auſtin, and Mr. Harding, have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by ſeveral uſeful and ingenious publications. The poetic genius of Preſton is much admired, and the writings of the Rev. Arthur O'Leary, have acquired much celebrity for their conciliating tendency, and comprehenſive philanthropy. The Earl of Charlemont, by his admired writings, hath enriched both claſſic and philoſophic lore; and the truly dignified Prelate, who preſides over the church of Ireland, is no leſs an ornament to religion, by his unaffected piety and virtue, than he is to the republic of letters by his profound erudition and valuable literary communications. Drs. Wade and Dickſon, have added conſiderably to medicinal knowledge by their late publications

lications, and when Dr. Purcell favours the world with his lucubrations, they will do honour to his country, and prove an acquisition of the utmost moment to the faculty. He is a man of profound erudition, a philosopher, a gentleman, the first physician confessedly in Ireland, and above all, a good man.

If genius was duly encouraged, Ireland would be as much distinguished for poetry, eloquence, history and other branches of polite literature, as any of the most celebrated nations. Such considerations impress us not only with regret, but indignation, on account of the little attention paid to the state of learning in this kingdom. It is only our province to regret the numerous evils that result from the neglect of letters, and point out their utility to the happiness and civilization of the kingdom. It is our wish to stimulate the legislature to the adoption of some general and comprehensive system of education, for the purpose of removing public ignorance, and enlightening the native intelligence of the mind.

An effectual ſyſtem of national education would ſoon kindle a noble emulation and literary competition amongſt proteſtants, preſbyterians, and catholics; and accelerate the progreſs of our civilization. The military ardour which pervaded the volunteer inſtitution, in a few years effected a greater degree of civilization than the interval from the revolution to the period of their formation had done; and this was ſolely accompliſhed by uniting the public good with a kind of perſonal ambition.

It is by no means neceſſary to enter into a long debate on either the neceſſity, or utility of bringing education and knowledge to the door of the unlettered peaſant. The mode by which it can be accompliſhed and means to ſupport it have recently been pointed out by many writers, as eminent for their talents, as for their patriotiſm. It therefore reſts with the wiſdom of the legiſlature to give that efficacy to a wiſe ſyſtem of general education, that the importance of the meaſure requires, and on the completion of which, the morals, virtue, and proſperity of the nation ſo eſſentially depend.

THE indulgent reader will excuſe our dwelling ſo long on a ſubject which perhaps, may ſeem a digreſſion from the main deſign of the work; but our apology muſt be grounded on the elegant and humane ſentiment of the latin poet, *homo ſum, et nil humani, alienum a me eſſe puto.*

WE now reſume the narrative. Few occurrences of any moment took place from the arrival of Earl Camden until the meeting of parliament. A calm ſeemed to pervade the kingdom after the departure of Earl Fitzwilliam, but it was ſeriouſly to be apprehended, that it was that ſpecies of calm which uſually preceded a ſtorm. The appointment of a new viceroy, diffuſed ſuſpicions, fears and alarms, through the maſs of the people.

THE catholics of Dublin had deputed delegates, previous to Lord Fizwilliam's departure, to preſent a petition to his majeſty for a total emancipation. They were graciouſly received; but from an apprehenſion that ſuch viſitants might be two troubleſome in future, his majeſty's miniſters informed the deputies, that

that the king's pleaſure on the ſubject of catholic claims was communicated to Earl Camden the then lord lieutenant, and that he was the proper channel through whom it might be known.

THE deputation in conſequence of their inſtructions, did not conſider themſelves at liberty to make any further application. They returned and communicated the reſult of their deputation to a numerous meeting of catholics, convened for that purpoſe, on the 9th of April, at Francis Street chapel.

THE thanks of the meeting were given to the delegates, for their zeal and fidelity in executing the truſt repoſed in them. The meeting Reſolved, that they derived conſolation under the loſs the kingdom ſuſtained by the removal of the late popular adminiſtration, in contemplating the riſing ſpirit of harmony and co-operation among all ſects and deſcription of Iriſhmen, ſo rapidly accelerated by that event, and they earneſtly recommended to the catholics of Ireland, to cultivate by all poſſible means, the friendſhip and affection

of

of their proteſtant brethren, ſatisfied as they were; that national union was national ſtrength, happineſs and proſperity

THEY likewiſe Reſolved, "That they were ſincerely and unalterably attached to the rights, liberties, and independence of their native country; and they pledged themſelves collectively and individually to reſiſt, even their own emancipation, if propoſed to be conceded upon the ignominious terms of an acquieſcence, in the fatal meaſure of an union with the ſiſter kingdom."

A LARGE body of the ſtudents of Trinity college, who on that day had waited on Mr. Grattan with an addreſs, came to Francis Street Chapel, during the ſitting of the catholic meeting; they were admitted in the moſt reſpectful manner. They communicated their addreſs, together with Mr. Grattan's anſwer to the meeting; after which it was Reſolved, "That the catholic meeting obſerved with grateful cordiality an honeſt exultation on the appearance of a body of the learned and ingenuous youth of Ireland, amongſt them; they accepted their patriotic adoption of

of their cauſe as the ſureſt omen of its ſucceſs, and they invited and requeſted the preſent reſpectable viſitors, with their brethren of the univerſity, to honour their future meetings with their preſence and ſupport, in this caſe they ſeemed to found their hopes of complete emancipation, or the cauſe of Iriſh liberty, as they called it, on the union among Iriſhmen alone.

It muſt appear evident, that the happineſs and proſperity of Ireland, cannot otherwiſe be effected, than by an union among every ſect and deſcription of the community; yet the conduct of the ſtudents on this occaſion was diametrically repugnant to academic inſtitutions and regulations.

If we look back to the former ſtate of the kingdom, it will appear ſelf-evident, that our preſent ſituation is conſiderably influenced by it. The firſt ſpecimen of Engliſh government, in this country, was introduced by a barbarous horde of military adventurers whoſe object was plunder and devaſtation.

they were oppreſſive and rapacious in their conduct, and denied the Iriſh, not only the benefits of the Engliſh laws and conſtitution, but, on occaſions, treated them as enemies.

When Henry II. landed in Ireland, we were not inferior to England in either refinement or civilization. But from that period, to the reign of Henry the VII. domeſtic feuds and foreign wars, ſo embarraſſed the affairs of England, that the intereſts of Ireland were little attended to.

During this interval, rapine and military tyranny not only rendered the natives ferocious, but reduced them to the moſt deplorable ſituation. Penal ſtatutes and the ſword, were the means adopted for effecting the ſettlement and ſecurity of the land; and ſcarce a political regulation took place in the kingdom, until the days of Queen Elizabeth.

Under the reigns of James and Charles, fanaticiſm endeavoured to baniſh the only religion known to the people; cruel and rapacious

cious governors attempted to inforce by the ſword, opinions on the minds of the people; as well as by acts of the moſt ſavage cruelty, andbarbarous ſeverity.

NON-CONFORMITY to religious reformation was too often made the pretext for robbing, not only the native Iriſh, but alſo the early Engliſh adventurers; and the recent ſettlers, in order to add ſtability to their ill-acquired property, did their utmoſt to ſupport and maintain a ſupremacy in England, over this kingdom.

THE natives were excluded from the honours, offices and emoluments of the ſtate; and were robbed of their properties, and perſecuted in their religion. Thus two parties, as diametrically oppoſite in public as in private intereſt, were formed in Ireland.

A SMALL degree of reflection on the foregoing circumſtances, will account for the oppoſition recently given to catholic emancipation; but it is an oppoſition, which will yield to time and reaſon.

RELIGIOUS animoſity will be ſubdued by the returning tide of human benevolence as

the full communication of political power, cannot in the courſe of things be inſtantaneous, but, like the fruit of the earth, it muſt be the growth of maturity, and the gift of time.

PREJUDICE and illiberality will ſoon be baniſhed the land, and all diſtinctions will ceaſe, but thoſe of a good or bad citizen. What a picture of liberality and moderation did the conduct of the eſtabliſhed clergy of Ireland exhibit, during the recent application for catholic emancipation? Many pious and learned prelates exerted their eloquence in parliament, in ſupport of Catholicity; and the entire body of the proteſtant clergy, in their conduct on this occaſion, have fully approved themſelves the diſciples of the meek, mild, and gentle author of chriſtianity.

WHILE the voice of religion thus accords with that of the people at large, the general wiſh muſt ſhortly prevail; but we are ſatisfied that what appears from the temper of the times impracticable, it is as imprudent to ſolicit, as it would be deſtructive to the nation to attempt by any other means.

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In conſequence of a balloting for the augmentation in the militia, that took place this ſeſſion, riots and affrays enſued in various parts of the kingdom; and many of the ignorant and unfortunate populace, in the conflict, were put to death by the military.

On the firſt ballot for a militia in this kingdom, ſimilar bloody ſcenes commenced, owing entirely to a miſconception in the minds of the people, with reſpect to the real object of the inſtitution: which would have altogether been prevented, had a timely and proper explanation of the militia bill been given. There is every reaſon to preſume, that the augmentation of the militia this year, is reſiſted on the ſame principle it was in the year 1792; all which might have been prevented by fully explaining the militia act to the people, and by a judicious ſyſtem of raiſing the men.

It certainly requires a little more addreſs than the generality of governors and deputy governors who conſtituted the balloting committees poſſeſſed; to reconcile the minds of the lower orders of the people at this criſis, to the militia ſyſtem, which they conſidered little

ſhort of a requiſition. At a moment when public credit is unhinged, and multitudes of manufacturers actually ſtarving, ſurely, every precaution ought to be uſed to conciliate the favourable opinion of the people, to every additional burden, impoſed them.

We have ſeen with ſorrow, many inſtances of cruelty in quelling popular diſturbances. The idea of ſhedding the blood of our fellow creatures, ought to excite horror in every breaſt, however callous to the feelings of humanity; and it cannot be admiſſible but upon the moſt preſſing and momentous neceſſity, when either the peace of the kingdom, or the exiſtence of ſociety is menaced with deſtruction.

But the vengeance due to this enormous crime, ſhould not be exerciſed upon every trifling appearance of inſtinctive reſiſtance, however miſguided, a diſorderly aſſemblage of half-ſtarved, unarmed wretches, oppreſſed indeed, as unqueſtionably the poor of this kingdom are, with miſery and want, who aſſemble either to communicate their grievances

and

and hardſhips, or to deviſe ſome ſcheme of redreſs; or probably ſeduced by the artful addreſs of ſome baſe miſcreant, with the infernal view of promoting his ambitious ſchemes, by their guilt. Men thus led to commit momentary acts of indiſcretion and irregularity, are by no means objects of dire vengeance, but rather of pity, and heart-rending commiſeration.

In all ſuch caſes, government ſhould impoſe it as a duty on the civil power, to uſe their utmoſt efforts to make the infatuated and deluded people, ſenſible of their dangers, and their errors, at the ſame time adminiſtering to them the pleaſing hope of an alleviation of their miſeries. Such conduct would be more conſonant to the mild, and perſuaſive precepts of humanity, and much more honourable and advantageous to the ſtate, than to butcher them without deliberation, and drench their remonſtrances with their blood.

If the magiſtrates conſcientiouſly diſcharged their duty, little tumult or riot would diſturb the peace of the country, and the people would never

never, from deſpair of redreſs, be brought to the perpetration of deeds of violence and outrage.

THE former miſeries of Ireland we wiſh to ſee buried in everlaſting oblivion. We will therefore paſs them over without comment. But at the joyful period when that long-wiſhed-for union among the people, is taking place; let the hands and hearts of all my countrymen be united for the preſervation of the peace and proſperity of the nation. Let neither proſcription, nor arms, be reſorted to; but let conciliation, take place of both: let induſtry be encouraged, and merit rewarded.

THE induſtrious peaſantry conſtitute the ſupport of the nation; and therefore their minds and affections ought to be meliorated to their ſituations, and made as comfortable as a ſtate of ſubordination can conſiſtently admit of.

WE ſincerely truſt, that the liberty of the ſubject may never experience the dreadful attacks of laſt year, when reſpectable, decent and induſtri-

induſtrious men, were confined for months in a common gaol, and that upon the evidence of the vileſt informers; bail refuſed, trials ſuſpended, the health and property of the innocent priſoners deſtroyed, and at their acquittal the perjury of the informers were ſo notorious, that even the lawyers for the proſecution reprobated it in the moſt ſevere terms. May theſe ſcenes never be remembered but as watch lights to guard us againſt ſimilar diſaſters!

We omitted to mention in the tranſactions of the preceding year, that an highly popular character, Mr. Archibald Hamilton Rowan, had been charged with treaſonable and ſeditious offences, and that having abided the deciſion of the law, was found guilty, and ſentenced to two years impriſonment; but ſhortly after made his eſcape from Newgate, through the connivance of the deputy gaoler. The oſtenſible reaſon aſſigned for Mr. Rowan's flight was, the apprehending the unfortunate Mr. Jackſon, in whoſe treaſonable and traiterous ſchemes, it appeared that Mr. Rowan had been

been deeply implicated. As an amiable private character, Mr. Rowan was admired, revered, and eſteemed; but when we view him in a public capacity, we are confounded and ſurprized; we feel for the man, while we condemn and execrate his political creed. Behold a gentleman of conſiderable landed property, of poliſhed and refined manners, liberal education, and bleſſed with the greateſt of all domeſtic comforts, a good wife and numerous progeny, humane beneficent and charitable; behold ſuch a character led aſtray by an overheated imagination, or through exceſſive credulity, become the dupe of party to embroil the peace of his country; yet, on account of his many good qualities, we will bury in the grave of oblivion one crime, and ſhed a tear over the memory of the friend, whoſe weakneſs we deplore.

If we caſt our eyes around us, and contemplate the ſtate of Europe for ſome months paſt, the ſcene is not only awful but alarming. The arms of an irreſiſtible and victorious republic every where triumphant from Pyrenees to the Rhine; the combined powers

flying

flying or fled; the united ſtates of Holland annexed to the republic of France; the Stadholder baniſhed, and his power aboliſhed; the Emperor trembling in his capital, Pruſſia temporiſing with Great Britain, while ſecretly negociating with France. Spain, and Italy, on the eve of a revolution, whilſt in the midſt of the univerſal commotion, the odious Catherine had ſubjugated a kingdom, and dethroned a virtuous monarch.

At home, trade nearly annihilated by the continuation of the war, the poor ſtarving, and the price of all kinds of proviſions ſo exorbitantly dear, as to occaſion commotions in ſeveral parts of the empire. This is ſurely a critical period for the impoſition of new taxes and new burthens, for the purpoſe of ſubſidizng foreign princes, in order to guard their own territories. At a time, when it is notorious, that all thoſe powers are endeavouring to patch up a peace with there public of France; and when Britain, at the commencement of the campaign, has ordered home the miſerable

ble remnant of a once flouriſhing army to guard her own coaſts againſt foreign invaſion and domeſtic commotion.

We had once a dignified exiſtence in Europe, *fuimus Troes*. The only alleviation of the general damp and gloom, which pervade the empire, is the recent marriage of his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales with an amiable Princeſs of the illuſtrious Houſe of Brunſwick; an event which has cheered deſpondency, and diffuſed joy through the breaſts of a loyal people and benevolent ſovereign.

But wiſe meaſures ought inſtantly to be adopted by the miniſters of the crown, to prevent the dangerous example of a neighbouring nation infuſing her poiſonous principles into the hearts of our people, to the ſubverſion of our conſtitution, and the overthrow of civil ſociety. The remedy is at hand, it conſiſts in one word,—*peace*. Nothing but that can reſtore public confidence and public credit, revive the drooping manufac-

tures

tures of the country, and give animation and vigour to trade and commerce.

A BILL had paſſed the commons this ſeſſion, for the encouragement of the brewery. It was a bill of much importance, as moſt materially connected with the health and morals of the people; it was therefore a meaſure of much general expectation. However, on the ſecond reading of it in the houſe of lords, it was warmly and ſucceſsfully oppoſed by the lord chancellor, for which oppoſition his lordſhip aſſigned the following reaſons: That however deſirable the object of the bill might have been, yet it was ſo formed as to be utterly inadmiſſible; it went, his lordſhip obſerved, to a direct violation of a compact between parliament and the crown, in a commutation of the civil liſt for the hereditary revenue, ſo far as concerned the duties on beer and ale without ſubſtituting any other revenue in lieu thereof. It went alſo to repeal the privileges veſted by Mr. Beresford's exciſe laws in revenue officers for inſpecting the premiſes of brewers in ſuch manner as would be moſt uſeful to the revenue.

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THE conſideration of the bill was poſtponed for a fortnight, as the houſe of commons had adjourned for a week, and would in the interim meet, and being apprized of the objectionable parts of the bill, might prepare another conſonant to the principle, but free from the objections of the preſent bill.

THE commons brought forward another bill, free from the above objections, which has ſince paſſed into a law; whereby the brewery will be encouraged effectually, and the health, morals, and induſtry of the people preſerved.

IT would conduce much to the intereſt and honour of the crown, as well as to the peace and happineſs of the kingdom, to ſimplify the revenue ſyſtem, which has now become inexplicable even to the ſapient framers of it. If ever any ſyſtem can introduce deſpotiſm and arbitrary government into the kingdom, it will be the revenue ſyſtem.

THE nation cannot be too guarded againſt the encroachments of a code, which has already

ready conſtituted in this country *imperium in imperio.*

THE entire ſyſtem is become objectionable on many accounts. It certainly is incompatible with every idea of juſtice, that the ſame ſet of men ſhould ſit as judge and jury on the property of the nation. It is a principle which our conſtitution abhors, and has crept into uſe in a ſurreptitious manner.

IT is alledged that unleſs the commiſſioners of the revenue were inveſted with a ſummary power of deciding on revenue matters between the ſubject and the crown, the courts of law, from their uſual delay, would not for years be able to diſpoſe of revenue ſuits.

ALTHOUGH we ſincerely lament the delay and procraſtination of the courts of law, yet with all their inconveniencies we ought to prefer them to a new juriſdiction, unknown to the conſtitution, and which may be converted to dangerous uſes.

A SIMPLIFICATION of the revenue code would remove all the inconveniencies and ſcandalous abuſes that pervade a ſyſtem, where fraud

fraud, oppreſſion, and peculation, are ſo predominant.

THEREBY the neceſſity of litigation would be precluded, and the collection of the revenue facilitated, while the country would be relieved from the intolerable burthen of paying between ſeventeen and eighteen per cent. for the collection of a revenue, that on an average ought in juſtice, not to exceed ſeven per cent. which even is conſiderably higher, than what Great Britain pays, on a ſimilar engagement.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

The House of Commons met pursuant to adjournment—Their Proceedings—Riots in many Parts of England on account of the scarcity of Provisions—Trial of the Rev. Wm. Jackson, for High Treason—Found Guilty—Mr. Jackson dies in the Court—Strangers excluded the Gallery of the House of Commons—Admitted again under certain Restrictions—A Responsibility Bill introduced—A Bill for the abolition of the Police—Acquittal of Warren Hastings—Roman Catholic Bill introduced by Mr. Grattan—Its Fate—Earl Fitzwilliam in the British House of Peers, demands an Enquiry to be made into the Causes of his recal—Observations on Lord Carlisle's Reply to Lord Fitzwilliam's Letters—Riots in Connaught—Observations on the five Catholic Regiments ordered to be raised—The cruelty of employing Crimps in the Recruiting Service—The Ingenuity of the French in the Invention of the Telegraphe—A Description of it—Reflections arising from the Circumstances of the Times—An Enquiry into the Secession of the Heads of the Whig Party, to the

of the preſent Adminiſtration—The Bill to extend Eccleſiaſtical Leaſes to three Lives, thrown out in the Lords—Mr. Graydon's Motion relative to Mr. Ottiwell—Sir Laurence Parſon's Motion relative to the Number of Troops on the Eſtabliſhment.

A. D. 1795. THE Houſe of Commons met purſuant to adjournment on Tueſday, the 21ſt of April. An anſwer from his excellency the lord lieutenant, to the addreſs of the houſe, was reported, and ordered to be entered on the journals. A congratulatory addreſs was agreed on, to his majeſty on the happy event of the Prince of Wales's nuptials with a princeſs of the houſe of Brunſwick; and an addreſs was alſo voted to her Majeſty at the ſame time, to congratulate her on the ſame joyful event.

IT muſt be admitted that the conduct of our Queen has been extremely exemplary, both as a wife, and as a mother. She has been a perfect pattern of female excellence, in each of theſe characters; wherefore an addreſs of this kind muſt be extremely grateful to her majeſty's feelings on that happy occaſion.

MR.

MR. FORBES preſented the treaſury bill, which was received. Mr. Pelham's conduct on this occaſion was manly and candid, it was both gentlemanlike and conciliatory.

MR. GRATTAN moved that a committee ſhould be appointed, to take into conſideration the ſtate of the nation; the object of which was, to inveſtigate the cauſe of Earl Fitzwilliam's ſudden recal from this country. The motion was negatived by a majority of 110. In the courſe of the debate, it appeared that arrangements, and not meaſures, were the real cauſe of Lord Fitzwilliam's removal; and upon the whole it was evident, there had been too much addreſs upon one part; and too much placidity on the other.

MR. SECRETARY PELHAM avowed, that he and his friends, oppoſed Mr. Pitt, until the urgency of public concerns demanded the aſſiſtance and concurrence of every friend to his country: they coaleſced with him without any ſtipulation whatſoever. They oppoſed Mr. Pitt on principle, and were now induced from the neceſſity of the times to ſupport him on principle, and they ſhared in office,

that they might ſhare in reſponſibility. He declined entering farther on the motives which occaſioned the coalition between the Duke of Portland and his friends, with Mr. Pitt. It certainly could anſwer no ſalutary purpoſe, and might be conſtrued into an act of indiſcretion, and probably a violation of confidence.

An addreſs of congratulation was moved to the princeſs of Wales expreſſive of the happineſs and cordial ſatisfaction of all his majeſty's ſubjects on the happy occaſion of her Royal Highneſs's nuptials with the heir apparent.

The high price of proviſions had been productive of riots and tumults in various parts of Great Britain during theſe few weeks paſt; but to the honour of Ireland may it be ſaid, that although proviſions had riſen to exorbitant prices, yet the people remained peaceable and quiet, if we except ſome few inſtances to the contrary, occaſioned by the militia buſineſs, the high price of lands, and low price of labour.

How far it was prudent in government, at a moment of general ferment, to force an additional

ditional new ballot throughout the kingdom, the conſequences will ſhew.

We abhor all tendency to ſedition and riot, but we are perſuaded from the moſt attentive conſideration that rack rents, enormous grand jury aſſeſſments, together with the infuſion of French principles and the low price of labour, have in a great meaſure fomented, and kept up the ſpirit of defenderiſm in the country. Were theſe evils removed, the kingdom would no longer be diſturbed by Defenders.

This is not a ſeaſon for irritation, when Europe, emerging from the convulſions of war, is menaced with a general famine, and the poor are brooding over their wretchedneſs and miſery in ſilent diſcontent.

However we may approve the militia ſyſtem as a good mode of national defence, yet we are fully ſatisfied that it ought not to be attempted by ballot in a country circumſtanced as this is, at this period. The peaſantry were not fully prepared for ſuch a meaſure, wherefore the balloting has been attended with difficulties, outrage and riot, which might have been pre-

vented by adopting a mode more palatable to the people.

On the 23d of April, a remarkable trial took place in the court of King's Bench, before lord Clonmel. It was for high treaſon,—a crime ſcarcely heard of in this kingdom for a century paſt. The Rev. William Jackſon arrived at Dublin from England, on the 4th of March, 1794. His object was to learn the ſtate of the kingdom, and to communicate the ſame to the national convention, for the purpoſe of inducing them to invade this kingdom, and overturn our preſent happy conſtitution in church and ſtate.

The indictment conſiſted of fourteen different counts, which all went to two diſtinct points of criminality. The one purpoſing and imagining the king's death, and the other adhering to the king's enemies; either of which, by the ſtatute of Edward III. upon which Mr. Jackſon was indicted, conſtituted in law the crime of high treaſon.

The ſeveral charges againſt the priſoner were proved by an informer of the name of Cockayne an Engliſhman. Mr. Jackſon being unable

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to adduce any evidence to invalidate the charges, or counteract the teſtimony of the informer, after a trial of conſiderable length, the priſoner was, by a very reſpectable jury found guilty, but, from motives of humanity, they recommended him as an object of mercy. He was allowed by the court four days to aſſign cauſe, why judgment ſhould not paſs on him; at the expiration of which he was brought up to the court of King's Bench; but previous to his receiving ſentence, he ſuddenly expired in the dock, the effect of poiſon, as was generally believed: the unfortunate man ſeemed from the commencement of his traiterous deſigns, to be under the influence of an infatuation verging on inſanity. This is the only apology we can offer, either in extenuation of his crime or his tragical and unchriſtian-like exit. While in priſon, Mr. Jackſon wrote an anſwer to Paine's Age of Reaſon, in which he oppoſed the abſurd principles of that vile deiſtical writer. It is to be lamented, however, that he ſhould terminate his exiſtence, by an act ſo repugnant to the principles he avowed, and ſo congenial to thoſe of the enemies of our holy religion; ſuicide being conſidered by deiſts as an act of magnanimity and true heroiſm,

a doctrine

a doctrine as incompatible with the chriſtian diſpenſation as it is with the firſt principles of nature, and originating in pride or cowardice.

It does credit to the moderation of the preſent times, that deiſtical writers have been neither attacked, nor called to an account for their writings by any civil or eccleſiaſtical power. Two hundred years ago, they could not have dared to do ſo, without endangering their lives, and within that ſpace of time hiſtory mentions ſeveral Unitarians, Socinians and Arians, who have ſuffered at the ſtake, or account of their religious tenets. There are, we ſuppoſe many deiſts in this kingdom, though deiſtical writings do not at preſent appear ſo frequently as they did about fifty years ſince; the ſubject indeed is nearly exhauſted, and Mr. Paine's Age of Reaſon has added but little to the old ſtock. But even the writings of Hume and Gibbon, which have been directly or indirectly levelled againſt the Chriſtian religion, have long ſince ſunk into merited oblivion, wherefore, we have little to apprehend from the author of the Age of Reaſon.

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FORMERLY the attacks of the deiſts againſt the Chriſtian religion were chiefly levelled at the ſacred writings, and the fundamental of its faith founded upon them; but the modern free-thinkers perſuade themſelves, that they have at laſt completed *a ſyſtem of deiſm.* They fooliſhly believe they have found the true principles, derived from reaſon and experience; by which they can overthrow all kinds of eſtabliſhed religion. They therefore think that attacks upon the bible are altogether unneceſſary, and that by defending and adhering to their pretended ſyſtem, and adopted favourite principles, they effectually ſet all that authority aſide, which hitherto the profeſſors of chriſtianity have aſcribed to the ſacred writings. Although at preſent, the hell-fire club does not exiſt, yet were a new one to be erected, we believe, there would be by no means a want of perſons, who are abundantly qualified for ſuch a fraternity.

MOST of thoſe who expiate their crimes with the forfeiture of their lives, attribute their melancholy end to *ſabbath-breaking*, and a total neglect of the excellent moral precepts enjoined by the Chriſtian religion; wherefore the pro-

promulgation of irreligious and conſequently pernicious doctrines, ought to be totally prohibited, and diſſipation and vice, diſcountenanced and ſuppreſſed by the legiſlature.

IMMORAL writings and indecent prints have been extremely detrimental to that morality, which is pronounced the ſupport of the ſociety in which we live. It would redound much to the honour of the police of Dublin, to deviſe ſome effectual means for leſſening the baneful evils, ariſing from the number of proſtitutes that prowl through moſt parts of the city. The number of theſe wretched females encreaſes daily, wandering about in the ſtreets by dozens, not only at night, but even at noon day: many of them are ſcarcely twelve or thirteen years of age, who by following their unfortunate occupation bring themſelves and many of our youth to untimely ends, or finiſh their days in extreme diſtreſs, poverty and diſeaſe.

VARIOUS means have been deviſed to check the evil of proſtitution, but they anſwer very imperfectly. The Magdalen Aſylum, a very commendable charity, was inſtituted ſome years

years ſince, for the benefit of females who wiſhed to renounce their diſorderly life, and reform their morals. But how ſmall is the number of thoſe who can be received, and who really return from vice to virtue, when compared to thoſe who prefer the ways of immorality. Some perhaps, are taken up in the ſtreets and ſent to Bridewell, where they are ſcarcely miſſed among the number of thoſe who remain; and ſince no proviſion is made for their ſupport, when liberated out of priſon, they return partly from neceſſity, and partly from inclination to their former occupation.

That Dublin is infeſted with ſo many thieves and robbers, and that ſo many young men are condemned to die, is greatly owing to thoſe wretched proſtitutes. Here, indeed, is an ample field for a good police to exert its wiſdom in the prevention of crimes, that the number of thoſe may be diminiſhed, who are to be puniſhed for the commiſſion of them.

In conſequence of ſome indecent and diſorderly behaviour in the gallery of the houſe of commons, occaſioned by a ſudden emotion excited

excited by a ſpirited ſpeech made by one of the patriotic members, ſtrangers were for a time excluded the houſe; the gallery was however again opened for the admiſſion of ſtrangers, but under ſuch reſtrictions, and limitations, that it was conſidered by many of the members, calculated for the admiſſion of certain creatures of government alone; upon this preſumption Mr. Egan regularly moved every day, that the gallery ſhould be cleared, a motion he was determined to perſevere in, until the former modes of admiſſion to the gallery were allowed, which ſhortly after took place at the inſtance of that worthy character Col. Blaquiere.

The reſponſibility bill, and the abolition of the police meaſures ſo long and ſo ardently ſought after by the oppoſition, were at length carried into effect, by the unremitting perſeverance of Mr. Grattan and his friends.

After a trial of ſeven years continuance, Warren Haſtings was acquitted by the Britiſh houſe of peers, of the charges preferred againſt him by the houſe of commons, and of all

all matters contained therein, the lord chancellor of England was decidedly for his condemnation, as were Earls Fitzwilliam, Radnor, and four other peers.

THE bill for the total emancipation of the catholics was introduced into the houſe of commons by Mr. Grattan; it was received, and ordered to be printed, and on the 4th of May, during the ſecond reading, it was rejected by a majority of ſeventy one, after the houſe had ſat on the diſcuſſion of the bill upwards of ſixteen hours.

PERHAPS there never was a political queſtion debated in parliament, on which more eloquence was diſplayed, than on the catholic queſtion: during a debate of unexampled length, one might have expected ſome diminution of fire and energy, but on no former occaſion do we ever remember ſo powerful and ſo ſtriking an exertion of oratorial powers.

OUR gracious ſovereign and his parliament of Ireland have made in the courſe of a few years

years great conceſſions to the catholics, with which they ought to be content, at leaſt, until the lower orders of the catholic community are ſufficiently qualified for the reception of the full and entire participation of the conſtitution, by the progreſs of civilization, and the benefits of education.

In the Britiſh ſenate, Earl Fitzwilliam demanded an enquiry into the cauſe of his recal, in order to aſcertain where the blame was to attach; whether to the miniſter or himſelf, but the miniſtry reſolved to oppoſe any inveſtigation whatever, touching his lordſhip's recal.

Earl Carlisle publiſhed a reply to Earl Fitzwilliam's letters. In this reply his lordſhip is brief without being ſatisfactory, and conciſe without being clear. Lord Carliſle ſaid, it was generally believed, that in the final arrangements and concluding converſation between Earl Fitzwilliam, and his majeſty's miniſters, it was ſettled, that no material meaſure, either as to perſons or things

things, was to be decided upon without a further communication and concurrence with the cabinet of England.

FURTHER communication, if Earl Fitzwilliam's letters be genuine, there was, with the Britiſh cabinet, relative to perſons; and no objection was even hinted relative to the arrangements his lordſhip propoſed to make on the ſubject. As to catholic emancipation Lord Carliſle expreſſed a terror and apprehenſion, at the precipitancy with which the meaſure was brought forward. His lordſhip delivered it as his opinion, that as no attack or accuſation had been aimed at lord Fitzwilliam's character, there was no neceſſity for the juſtification into which his lordſhip had entered.

EVERY loyal and good ſubject muſt lament and ſeverely condemn the enormous exceſſes of a ſet of deluded wretches, who have been for ſome time paſt deſtroying the internal peace of the country; many of theſe miſcreants have been impelled to their horrid depredations by a ſpirit of riot, rapine and plunder; but as all the recent diſturbances

bances have not originated in the ſame in famous motives, it is but an act of juſtice to draw a line of diſcrimination.

In the counties of Roſcommon, Leitrim, and Longford, the inſurgents complain that they cannot ſubſiſt on four pence a day, the uſual wages given in thoſe parts, and they demand eight pence. Theſe unfortunate people alſo complain of the exorbitant rents of land as an inſupportable grievance. It muſt be admitted that rack rents have been the real cauſe of driving many of the wretches in Connaught to deſpair.

Their enormities and exceſſes muſt be puniſhed, however humanity may feel for their ſituation, and policy point out the neceſſity of adopting meaſures to prevent the growth of the evil. We heſitate not, once more to declare, that exorbitant rents with the low price of labour have been the ſource and origin of moſt of the late diſturbances that have terrified and convulſed the country; and the folly of men of large landed property in letting their eſtates to a deſcription of people denomi-

denominated *middle men*, have alſo contributed to produce the evil complained of.

At a time when the violated laws are preparing all their horrors for the puniſhment of depredators and delinquents in different countries in Ireland, it muſt be the wiſh of every humane mind to ſuggeſt the abſolute neceſſity of taking proper ſteps for the prevention of ſimilar outrages in future. The military may kill thouſands, but without a radical remedy for the diſeaſe, will produce but a momentary and an apparent calm.

Although it be generally an ungracious duty for an hiſtorian to tread cloſe upon the heels of the riſing events, yet anticipation and prediction are beyond his province. If, however, it may be allowable, from the aſpect of preſent appearances, to judge of future events! the next ſeſſion of parliament will frame ſuch laws as will completely check all diſorderly proceedings in the populace hereafter, by removing the cauſe *nam enſe recidendum eſt, immedicabile vulnus.*

FIVE regiments of the Iriſh brigade, of two battalions each, have been revived, and commanders are ſent over to this kingdom, to recruit none but Catholics, to whom they promiſe the free exerciſe of their religion, and the conſtant opportunity of attending divine ſervice, performed by chaplains of their own perſuaſion. It is however to be remarked, that all the commiſſions in theſe revived corps, are to be given to the officers of the old Iriſh brigade; and if a ſufficient number of them cannot be found, they are to be completed by Engliſh and Iriſh Catholics only.

THE Duke of Portland, in order to encourage the recruiting and immediate incorporation of theſe new-raiſed corps, to whom he could promiſe no proſpect of reward on the eſtabliſhment, wrote a moſt polite and flattering letter to a gentleman who had the command of one of theſe regiments, aſſuring him, that if by a fortunate turn of events the French Monarchy ſhould be reſtored, either during or after the preſent war, and their attachment to their former maſter ſhould call upon their gratitude for paſt favours, they ſhould be conſidered at full liberty to arm themſelves again under

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their former ſtandard,—a more flattering and honourable compliment could not be paid, to the long tried loyalty of the Iriſh nation.

One of the great evils of war in a free country is, the encouragement given to deceit, fraud and cruelty, in procuring recruits for the ſervice. When the war is in itſelf unpopular, the bounties to recruits riſe in proportion to the general reluctance to enliſt. When the bounty is at the higheſt, the more extenſive and ſubtle is the ſyſtem of converting it to account through all the ſubordinate gradations of the military brokers, from the commiſſioned officer down to the unfortunate recruit. He, too often, is ſeduced by the incautious acceptance of a ſcanty relic of the clipt and ſweated bounty, that at length reaches the hand for which it was originally intended entire and full. The recruiting houſes kept by crimps and kidnappers in Dublin, and many other towns in this kingdom, are the general ſcenes of the enormities committed in this atrocious and inhuman traffic.

DEBAUCHERY and intoxication, the general means of ſeduction into the engagement; force, cruelty, and ſometimes perjury, the remedy againſt repentance in the moment of returning ſobriety and reflection, theſe evils will ever exiſt as long as the preſent recruiting ſyſtem is continued.

WHATEVER may be our conviction of the neceſſity of the war, or the prudence of its continuance, the preſent alarming ferment of the public mind, forbids us to explain. No motive or incentive to the war has been unapplied by its advocates to engage every claſs and deſcription of people in it; the defence, glory, and propagation of the goſpel of Chriſt, and the eſtabliſhment of every principle of truth, juſtice and morality, have been diſplayed in oppoſition to the impious and wild ſyſtem of French democracy.

FAR be it from us to judge of the juſtice of any cauſe, by the iſſue or ſucceſs of human events; we abhor republican principles as much as any of the moſt zealous ſupporters of our conſtitution can do; yet if it ever concerned the people to know the real principles

principles upon which the ſyſtem of government and the public intereſts of the nation were conducted; it certainly is in that hour, in which the largeſt ſupplies and levies are called for, in which ſtrong and ſevere meaſures are adopted by the executive and legiſlative powers. But, the confuſed darkneſs of the meaſures of our cabinet, as well as of thoſe of the combined powers, render it impoſſible at preſent, to ſpeak with that preciſion of facts, which the winding up of the cataſtrophe will probably enable the future hiſtorian to do.

DURING the whole of this diſaſtrous war, the French have been remarkable for energy of action and ingenuity of invention. For great national purpoſes, nothing ever equalled the Telegraphe, either in ancient or modern improvements; it conſtitutes one of the moſt uſeful effects of their marvellous exertions.

THE Telegraphe conſiſts of upright poſts, erected on heights at the diſtance of twelve or fifteen miles from each other; on each poſt are two tranſverſe arms, which are moveable

ble in all directions with extreme rapidity, by means of a ſingle piece of mechaniſm. The poſition and form of theſe arms ſtand for different letters or cyphers agreed upon between the perſons at the two extremities. Though the number of forms into which theſe arms may be worked is definite, yet the combination either by way of letters or cyphers is almoſt indefinite, and the meaning always arbitrary and changeable.

So incredible has been the ſucceſs of the experiment, that the account of the ſurrender of Conde at ſix o'clock in the morning, was communicated to the convention before nine o'clock on the ſame day: a vote paſſed immediately for acknowledging the good ſervices of the army of the North; it was conveyed to the army, and an anſwer received from them by the telegraphe, before the convention ſeparated for dinner.

THIS extreme velocity in conveying intelligence, appears rather fabulous than real; but it is aſcertained beyond doubt, that words and ſentences can be communicated at the inconceivable rate of one hundred miles in the

the hour. The inventor of this admirable inſtrument for propagating intelligence, is *Monſieur Chappe*. The perfection to which it was brought in the firſt inſtance, ſpeaks loudly in favour of that laudable attention and energy which France has lately manifeſted in every improvement of art and ſcience.

WHAT a loſs to our country that inventive genius is not duly encouraged! ſurely, it ought to be the peculiar province of government to ſecond every effort of genius, having new diſcoveries for its object, as public improvement and national honour would prove the certain conſequences; it being an unqueſtionable fact, that neither the productions of genius nor art, will ever be brought to maturity, without the countenance and patronage of government.

IN the year 1787, the truly ingenious Mr. Samuel Healy, of Dublin made a diſcovery on philoſophic and mechanic principles, that would prove of the utmoſt utility to navigation in general. In a letter to Lord Howe,

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Mr. Healy offered to prove demonſtratively, by means of a working model, that his diſcovery would be attended with the following advantages in navigating ſhips of any burthen;—Firſt, that a ſhip could be accelerated in her progreſs when under ſail, clear of all rigging.—Secondly, that ſhe could proceed on her voyage in a calm at the rate of either one or ten knots in an hour, in proportion to the working,—Thirdly, that ſhe would not miſs her ſtays in tacking, and conſequently would be ſupported under a leeway;—Fourthly, that ſhe would be enabled to get off a Lee-ſhore in a heavy gale;—Fifthly, that the invention would anſwer as a perpetual Log; and Sixthly, that it would be made to work pumps, when the ſhip was under ſail, or at anchor in a current.

It is to be lamented that the board of admiralty did not countenance this ingenious and laudable undertaking. But as Mr. Healy has eſtabliſhed the principle of his hypotheſis, it is to be preſumed that the legiſlature will countenance a diſcovery, the promulgation of which, would reflect credit on the talents and

and ingenuity of the inventor, and do honour to his country.

NEVER has there occurred in the annals of the empire, ſuch unanimity in the ſenate as in the proſecution of the preſent war againſt France. Upon this principle did Mr. Grattan and his friends ſupport a government which they had for a ſeries of years uniformly oppoſed, the ſingle queſtion of war was either the pretext or the ground for this coalition of parties.

HOWEVER true it may be, that Ireland muſt ſtand or fall with Great Britain, and that her councils are always or generally directed by the Britiſh cabinet, yet it muſt ever be denied, that an independent and powerful kingdom ſhould be ſo mean, and ſubſervient to the Britiſh miniſtry, as to ſanction and ſupport, any meaſure replete with folly and ruin, merely becauſe it is brought forward by men in office.

IF in human events there be a certain criterion of the fall of a nation, it is when the failures, diſaſters, and miſmanagement of adminiſtration

miniſtration are viewed with torpid indifference. The progreſs from this ſtate to extreme calamity is rapid and violent.

If in the critical moment of the cataſtrophe, ſhe can command ſufficient energy, to recover herſelf from the ſhock, it is a fortunate hazard out of human reaſon or expectation.

In proportion to the ſtrength of every man's conviction, muſt he neceſſarily wonder at the difference of others from him, upon a ſubject equally open to the information of both. Hence ariſes the difficulty of ſpeaking with moderation and temper upon ſubjects that appear to carry conviction with them, little ſhort of mathematical demonſtration.

The ſeceſſion of ſo many from the Whig party, that had for theſe ten years paſt uniformly oppoſed the meaſures of adminiſtration, is a circumſtance of too great importance to the empire to be paſſed over in ſilence. Their ground for ſeceding was certainly new, and did not exiſt at the beginning, or during the continuance of the greateſt part of Mr. Pitt's adminiſtration.

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FROM the nature and conſtruction of our conſtitution, an oppoſition to the miniſtry of the day muſt always exiſt; but it becomes a perſonal inſult, to preſume that any man oppoſes his majeſty's ſervants upon other ground, than that their principles and actions are dangerous to the ſtate, or hoſtile to the conſtitution.

A CHANGE of opinion may certainly take place in any man's mind, and with that change an honeſt man alters his conduct. A miniſter may propoſe and bring forward a meaſure, which his moſt active opponent may be under a ſtrict obligation of not oppoſing; but whilſt his conviction laſts, of the unconſtitutional principles upon which a particular adminiſtration is founded and ſupported; probity and integrity leave him, at the moment in which he gives his ſupport to ſuch a meaſure.

IT deeply concerns the intereſt of the public, that the real political principles of the leading members of its two eſtates ſhould be decidedly aſcertained, and made known. As therefore the deſerters of the Whig party, appear to outvie all others in their zeal for carrying

rying on the war, it becomes the duty of the hiſtorian to prevent the reader from confounding the approbation of one act of the miniſter, with a cordial and unqualified adoption of his principles and general ſyſtem of meaſures.

The introduction of the duke of Portland and his friends into adminiſtration, was a circumſtance that aſtoniſhed all thoſe who had believed their oppoſition to Mr. Pitt's adminiſtration grounded upon principle. When a party has largely participated in the confidence of a nation for a length of time, it is a fortunate circumſtance that calls from them an unequivocal teſt of the ſincerity of their profeſſions.

According therefore to their future conduct will the people judge, and truſt them with their confidence; and the nation, it is preſumed, will not confide in the preſent men and meaſures, an atom farther than the more effectual ſupport of the war; the avowed cauſe of the change.

So ſingular is the ſpirit of the preſent times, that when an individual undertakes to think of

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and communicate to the public, any of the great events that involve the deareſt intereſts of his country, he is expected to repreſent them all as terminating happily, and tending eſſentially to promote the welfare of the nation.

We will however admit, if ever on any occaſion, it were allowable to conceal political truth from the people at all, it is at the moment when republican and fanatical principles are ſo prevalent: at ſuch a time, it becomes dangerous, by any kind of ſpeculation, to weaken the arm of the executive power; and this is a ſeaſon, when the doctrine of obedience ought to be inculcated, and the exception ought not to be introduced into popular reaſonings and diſcourſes.

From the memorable revolutions that have lately occurred, we may naturally conclude, that it is dangerous for princes to aſſume more authority, than the laws have allowed them; and at the ſame time, it muſt be confeſſed, that theſe events furniſh us with another inſtruction no leſs natural and no leſs uſeful, concerning the madneſs of the people, the fury

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of fanaticiſm, and the danger of republican and levelling principles.

A BILL to enable biſhops to let leaſes for three lives paſſed the commons, but in the lords upon the motion of his grace the lord Primate, the committal of the bill was poſtponed to the firſt of Auguſt, a meaſure highly honourable to his grace and the other learned and worthy prelates who oppoſed the bill; for the paſſing of a bill to extend eccleſiaſtical leaſes to three lives, would certainly operate much to the emolument of the preſent bench of biſhops; in this inſtance, they have ſacrificed their own immediate intereſt for the good of their ſucceſſors, and the advantage of the church.

MR. HENRY OTTIWELL having perſiſted in refuſing to anſwer a queſtion put to him by a committee of the houſe, and afterwards by the houſe itſelf, relative to the conduct of the commiſſioners of wide ſtreets, who had let conſiderable lots of building ground to Mr. Ottiwell, at what was conſidered

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an undervalue: Mr. Graydon moved the following reſolution on the occaſion, which was carried. "That Henry Ottiwell having declined to anſwer a queſtion put to him by a committee appointed by the houſe, and perſiſting in his refuſal, is guilty of a contempt of the authority of that houſe, and a violation of its privileges."

Mr. GRAYDON then followed up this reſolution by a motion, "That Henry Ottiwell be committed to the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms, which was unanimouſly agreed to."

A GREAT fraud it was conceived had been committed on the public. A committee had been appointed by the houſe to make a report on the ſubject. But from Mr. Ottiwell's ſilence, together with a want of ſufficient information, the committee were incompetent to pronounce any judgment. Such being the ſtate of the fact, it is not in the power of the hiſtorian to offer an opinion on the queſtion; where there is a want of due information, candour requires in ſuch caſes, that

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the character of an individual ſhould not be frittered away even by inſinuation.

On Wedneſday the 13th of May, Sir Laurence Parſons made the following motion in the houſe of commons. "That John Earl of Weſtmorland, by authoriſing ſuch numbers of troops to be ſent out of the kingdom, as reduced the regular forces on this eſtabliſhment below the number required by law to be kept within the kingdom for its defence, has been guilty of violating a compact between the king and the parliament, and with diſpenſing with the law of the land."

This motion was productive of conſiderable debate; on the one ſide it was argued: That at the time of the augmentation in 1769, the crown entered into a ſolemn compact, ratified by ſeveral ſucceeding acts of parliament; That twelve thouſand effective men ſhould at all times be kept in this country for its defence; That Lord Weſtmorland, as appeared from the returns on the table, had ſent ſo many men away in 1794,

as

as left the kingdom depending on a ſmaller number for its defence than that ſpecified in the compact; that by ſo doing, he had violated the king's engagement, and the law of the land, which no power could diſpenſe with; That if neceſſity was urged, he ought to have reſorted to parliament for an act of indemnity; but failing to do it, it became parliament to vindicate their own dignity and the law of the land, by voting at leaſt a public cenſure for an offence that ought to be followed by impeachment.

On the other ſide it was inſiſted, That by examining the returns, it appeared, that with new levies, invalids, and other regular troops, the kingdom was at no time left with leſs than twelve thouſand men; that even had Lord Weſtmorland acted as it was charged, the exigency of the times would have juſtified it. That the proviſion in the law which mentioned an invaſion or rebellion in Great Britain, as a juſtification, ſhould be reaſonably extended to an apprehended invaſion; a circumſtance which every man expected in the laſt year; and, that the com-

pleat defence of this country, the object of the compact, was fully anſwered by the great addition of force in the militia regiments. After the debate had continued to midnight, it was at length got rid of, by the queſtion of adjournment having been put and carried.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

The diſtinction between true and falſe Patriotiſm —Bad Conſequences ariſing from the latter— Motion of the Duke of Bedford in the Britiſh Houſe of Peers, relative to Earl Fitzwilliam's recal from the Government of Ireland—Oppoſed by Government and the Motion rejected by a conſiderable Majority—A Proteſt entered on the Journals of the Lords, in conſequence of the rejection of the Motion—Mr. Curran's Motion in the Parliament of this kingdom on the State of the Nation, negatived without a Diviſion —The Liquidation of his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales's Debts—A Jointure ſettled on the Princeſs of Wales—The abolition of the Police Eſtabliſhment, in the City of Dublin, and the reſtoration of the old Watch—The judicious choice of Government in appointing the Earl of Carhampton to quell the diſturbances in Connaught —Tranquillity reſtored to that Part of the Kingdom—The cloſe of the Seſſion of Parliament —Reflections ariſing from the State of the Country—Concluſion of the Work.

THE mode of arguing from the abuſe of any thing againſt the uſe of it is one of the groſſeſt, and at the ſame time one of the

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moſt common errors to which we are ſubject. The hiſtory of all ages, affords examples of the abuſe of patriotiſm; but whoever would from thence draw an inference to the diſadvantage of patriotiſm in general, would argue raſhly and erroneouſly.

True patriotiſm never fails to inculcate and ſecure obedience to the laws and the civil power, while the adulterate ſpecies of it, inflames faction, animates ſedition, prompts rebellion, and becomes the great ſource of revolutions and public convulſions.

The hiſtorian may therefore retain the higheſt regard for true and genuine patriotiſm, while he expoſes all the abuſes of the falſe. He may even think, that he cannot better ſhew his attachment to the former, than by detecting and expoſing the pernicious tendency of the latter.

The lower orders of the people, ſeem to be agitated by a political hurricane, and it muſt be admitted, that many injudicious meaſures and proceedings have been recently adopted by many individuals under the maſk of patriotiſm. By theſe artful partizans of faction, a conſiderable

conſiderable degree of ferment has been excited throughout the kingdom.

Democratic innovation is ſet up by many as the ſtandard of patriotiſm. To a peaſantry already too much prepared for commotion by the infuſion of French principles, and the wily ſuggeſtions of certain turbulent and ſeditious ſpirits; the good to be derived from the recent conceſſions of parliament, as it did not operate inſtantaneouſly, eluded their penetration, and before they could be ſenſible of their improved ſituation, they have been miſled and hurried into outrage and commotion in ſeveral parts of the kingdom: and nothing but the judicious interference of the executive power, can at this critical period, preſerve the kingdom from the horrors of anarchy and commotion.

Grievances exiſt in this country, both from the want of occupation and from the want of capital, both of which, muſt inevitably be encreaſed by the preſent diſturbances.

The people ſhould reflect on the great conceſſions already made by the legiſlature: reſtrictions

ſtrictions have been impoſed on the prerogative of the crown; limitations on the expenditure of the public money; new and uſeful arrangements in the finances, a check on profuſion by the eſtabliſhment of a treaſury board; together with the admiſſion of the great body of the nation to almoſt all the advantages of the conſtitution.

THESE are certainly laudable acts in government and ought to ſatisfy the public mind, particularly at ſo delicate and critical a ſeaſon as the preſent.

THIS is not a moment to miſlead by repreſenting faction innocent, and government reprehenſible. Let government get due credit for its laudable acts, and let no unfair ſtatement of circumſtances be obtruded on the public mind to incite and urge the ferment too long already kept up by artifice and deſign.

THE Duke of Norfolk in the Engliſh houſe of peers, agreeable to a former notice, made the following motion; That an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, praying that his majeſty may be graciouſly pleaſed to have laid before

fore the houſe ſuch papers, and correſpondence as had paſſed between his majeſty's miniſters and Earl Fitzwilliam, while lord lieutenant of Ireland; as related to his lordſhip's recal, at the time both houſes granted ſupplies to his majeſty, of the greateſt munificence.

THE Earl of Coventry oppoſed the motion, as he did not ſee any neceſſity there was to give Earl Fitzwilliam an opportunity of defending his conduct, which had never been called in queſtion; it was likewiſe alledged that the motion was not warranted by any conſtitutional principle; that it would tend to divulge the ſecrets of the cabinet, and interfere with a prerogative of a moſt ſerious nature, Earl Fitzwilliam truſted the propoſition of his noble friend ought to paſs, in order that the country might hear his defence, as well as the charges miniſters had to offer as to the cauſe of his recal; and his lordſhip complained that his name, his character, and fame had ſuffered exceedingly, in conſequence of the circumſtance, which gave riſe to the preſent motion, he therefore called on their lordſhips, in juſtice to an injured individual, to give him an opportunity of clearing his character from the

the calumnies and aſperſions under which it laboured.

THE Duke of Portland ſaid, that no charge had been made againſt the noble lord, and that he did not think the buſineſs of ſufficient moment to call for an enquiry. The motion was put and negatived by one hundred againſt twenty-five. A proteſt was entered on the journals of the houſe of lords, in conſequence of the Duke of Norfolk's motion having being negatived.

A. D. 1795. ON Friday, March 16th. Mr. Curran, in an eloquent ſpeech on the ſtate of the nation, in the houſe of commons of Ireland, concluded with a motion to the following effect: That an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, aſſuring his majeſty of the unalterable affection and ſincere attachment of his majeſty's faithful commons of Ireland, and their anxious deſire to ſupport the connexion between the two countries on all occaſions, to which they are further induced by a conſcious ſenſe of the preſent ſituation of affairs.

THAT

THAT his majeſty's faithful commons of Ireland have granted in this year, for the ſupport of the army and navy, a ſum nearly amounting to two millions; and that the ſaid ſum was granted unanimouſly by parliament, and with the approbation of the people.

THAT when a nobleman appointed to the government of the kingdom had employed himſelf in the purſuit of inſpecting into, and reforming abuſes, he was recalled by the machinations of Britiſh miniſters. That confidence had been abuſed by the traffic of honours, and law violated by the removal of troops. That Proteſtants and Catholics are fully ſenſible of the benefits which they enjoy, under his majeſty's auſpicious reign; and conſider that the meaſures purſued by his majeſty's miniſters are unknown to his majeſty.

THEREFORE his majeſty's commons of Ireland do moſt humbly implore, that the happineſs, proſperity and intereſt of his majeſty's ſubjects in general in this kingdom, may form part of his majeſty's future inſtructions to his miniſters. This motion was negatived, without a diviſion.

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THE houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee on the literary teachers bill: it was oppoſed by the attorney general, on the principle that it was not introduced for the general good of the community; but to ſerve a few individuals, who made themſelves conſpicuous under the title of the Abcedarian ſociety. It was, he ſaid, treſpaſſing on the rules of Parliament and againſt the rule of right, to make a private bill a public one. If they wiſhed to be incorporated, they ſhould apply to the crown. The bill was negatived without a diviſion.

THE Prince of Wales's debts having undergone a diſcuſſion in the Britiſh ſenate, the mode in which they are to be diſcharged is as follows. The eſtabliſhment of the prince is to be increaſed to one hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds a year excluſive of the revenue of Cornwall, which is thirteen thouſand pounds a year.

THE debts of his royal highneſs, excluſive of the ſecurities which he has given for the dukes of York and Clarence, are ſix hundred and twenty five thouſand pounds. To pay the intereſt of theſe debts, at four per cent.

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twenty five thouſand pounds a year, are to be deducted from his income, and the revenue of Cornwall is to be applied as a ſinking fund, to the diſcharge of the principal, which it is calculated it will effect in twenty ſeven years.

THE money for the payment, both of the principal and intereſt, is to be veſted in the hands of commiſſioners, over whom the prince is to have no controul. In order to prevent any future accumulation of debt, his royal highneſs's income, is to be claſſed under ſeveral heads, to each of which a certain ſum, is to be allotted.

ALL arrears are to be cleared within a given time, and if they are not claimed by the creditors within that time, the claim is to lapſe; and if they are not diſcharged within that ſame period, the creditors are to be furniſhed with the power of recovering their debts from the officers employed by his royal highneſs in the management of his houſhold.

HOWEVER much the prodigality of the prince is to be lamented, yet it is to be hoped, his royal highneſs will now begin to qualify himſelf

himself by prudence and sober reflection for the high duties of his future station.

The commons unanimously concurred in settling a jointure of fifty thousand pounds a year, on the princess of Wales, when there was considerable debating on granting the prince an encrease of his establishment; but if the prince had been in a state of discredit with the house, his having been reduced to that situation was owing to bad advisers, for there are circumstances which no splendor of rank can veil, as there are virtues, which no obscurity of station can shroud.

The police establishment in Dublin, which, from its commencement, was so loudly inveighed against, was at length abolished, and the peace and protection of the city, consigned to the old watch. The act for the above purpose, commenced the 29th September, 1795.

It is now incumbent on the persons in the different parishes, with whom their direction will lie, to exert themselves for the protection of the public and the preservation of the peace,

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now that they are gratified with their favourite mode of nocturnal defence.

IT is a circumſtance highly honourable to Earl Camden's adminiſtration, to have appointed the Earl of Carhampton, to quell the diſturbances that unhappily prevailed in ſome parts of Connaught. At a former period, when the ſouth was convulſed by inſurgents, by the humanity and conciliating meaſures of his lordſhip, peace and tranquillity were reſtored to that diſtracted quarter, without effuſion of blood, or any act of cruelty or oppreſſion.

IN the courſe of a few days, Earl Carhampton effected the object of his miſſion, by reſtoring peace to a part of the kingdom ſo lately overwhelmed with tumult and commotion.

THERE is every reaſon to conclude, that all further diſturbances and diſcontents will be of ſhort duration, as the country gentlemen are now determined to beſtow a timely attention to the intereſts of the lower order of the people.

ON

On the 5th of June, cloſed a ſeſſion, which may be conſidered as one of the moſt eventful, which has been known in this country. It opened with the warmeſt expreſſions of the gratitude of parliament to his majeſty, and of hope in the country on the appointment of the then viceroy.

The moſt important and popular meaſures were put in train; the public purſe was moſt liberally opened; the money was accepted and the popular viceroy immediately recalled. A reſponſibility bill obtained, and the police aboliſhed in the metropolis, and the old watch reſtored.

The public have certainly to regret, that a motion for printing the report of the committee to enquire into the management of the revenue for the laſt twenty years was negatived.

The publiſhing of the report, would have revealed the moſt curious details of the revenue during that period. It would have accounted

accounted for what has long been matter of ſurprize, why the collection of revenue in this kingdom coſt the public ſo much.

It would alſo ſhew how the amazing augmentation of revenue officers within that period, became neceſſary, and how that augmentation had been employed. Thus the abuſes of the revenue ſyſtem have been concealed from the public view, by the ſuppreſſion of the report. An enquiry into thoſe abuſes, and the correction of them will it is to be hoped, form a leading feature in the Camden adminiſtration.

The diſtreſſes of the labouring huſbandman are of the utmoſt importance to the landlord and the legiſlature to remove; if the means of the labourer be inadequate to his ſupport, the avarice of the landlord muſt deſtroy its own object, by rendering the tenant inſolvent, and reducing him to the alternative of exile or famine.

The peaſant can never be rationally attached to that land where his inceſſant toil from ſun-riſe to ſun-ſet, cannot afford him

ſelf a comfortable meal or reſcue him from nakedneſs and famine. If landlords would retrench in ſome articles of luxury; be leſs ſplendid in their equipage, and leſs prodigal at the race courſe, and hazard table; then indeed, might we reaſonably hope, that thouſands of induſtrious tenants, with their numerous families, would not famiſh in all the horrible extremities of miſery, penury, nakedneſs and diſeaſe.

To the credit and honour of Earl Camden, let it be recorded, that it was his ſalutary advice to the Southern and Weſtern landlords of this kingdom, during the recent diſturbances, to ſeek order and permanent ſubordination, from their tenantry, rather by a mitigation of thoſe rigours of which they ſo heavily complain, than by the temporary, but terrible expedient of military force. The council was the reſult of judicious diſcernment and exalted humanity.

However, a dangerous and ſeditious ſpirit has manifeſted itſelf of late in many parts of the kingdom, evidently excited by individuals inimical to our king and conſtitution. Theſe deluded people have openly avowed

French

French principles, and have perpetrated enormities of the moſt atrocious nature.

THE vigilance and attention of government muſt have been directed to diſcover the vile abettors of ſuch infamous and ſeditious proceedings. Under the ſpecious garb of patriotiſm, the people have been of late years frequently deluded by a ſet of perturbed ſpirits, whoſe object was, to overturn our preſent happy conſtitution.

WITH the dreadful example of France before our eyes, what man, not monſtrouſly depraved, would excite a rebellious ſpirit in the country: loſt muſt he be, to all ſenſe of virtue, religion, and morality, who would endeavour to introduce a wild and deluſive ſyſtem of government into this kingdom, however it might be cloathed with the meritricious robes of liberty and equality. If ſuch perſons are not completely callous to all the feelings of humanity, the many unfortunate wretches, they have been inſtrumental, during the courſe of this ſummer, in bringing to an ignominious end, ſhould incline their

hearts to pity, and for ever put a period to their malevolent and ſeditious machinations.

Let not the peaſantry of Ireland be ſeduced from their allegiance by the rumours of a French invaſion, nor devote their time to acquire the uſe of arms, as the author of a late publication ſo ſeriouſly recommends to them. The only foe this kingdom has to apprehend danger from at preſent, is a domeſtic one; wherefore every man, who wiſhes well to either his king or his country, will contribute his utmoſt to preſerve the internal peace of the country.

France, that now appears to be the idol of the unthinking multitude, by fanaticiſm and military enthuſiaſm has eſtabliſhed a deluſive republican ſyſtem, which cannot be permanent becauſe founded on accuſations, proſcriptions and murders.

The uniform perſecution of the weakeſt party by the ſtrongeſt, has hitherto prevailed in that unhappy kingdom; and although we do not

not much like to indulge in prophecy, when, whatever happens has long ceaſed to ſurprize, yet we do not hazard much when we ſay, that in the ſtruggles of different factions, we ſhall probably behold a repetition of the horrors we have conſtantly witneſſed for theſe five years paſt; and that it will be long before France can eſtabliſh a firm and ſolid government; and much longer, before ſhe becomes a nation, notwithſtanding all her great natural advantages, formidable to every other European power.

To the honour of the ſacerdotal function be it ſpoken, the clergy have been indefatigable, in endeavouring to ſuppreſs the ſpirit of licentiouſneſs that has for ſome time paſt pervaded the lower orders of the community, and for ſuch laudable conduct they have been wantonly cenſured and abuſed; but by men inflexibly determined to diſcharge their duty, vulgar and unqualified invective will be looked upon with pity and contempt. It is to be hoped, that the efforts of the clergy will be powerfully ſeconded by the civil power, then may we ſhortly hope to behold religion and morality in that eſti-

tion among the people, which the laws both human and divine ſo forcibly inculcate.

He that attempts, like Mr. Paine to deſtroy the efficacy of religion, by artfully undermining the pillars on which it is built, is an enemy to mankind and to every ſyſtem of civil ſociety; he is a traitor to his God and to his ſovereign, and becomes an object of execration and utter abhorrence to mankind: ſuch a miſcreant ſhould not be permitted to aſſociate with civilized men, he is only qualified to herd with ſavages and brutes. Moſt of the evils and calamities of the preſent day, may juſtly be aſcribed to the irreligious and immoral conduct of many members of the community; wherefore, it is a duty incumbent upon us, to regulate our conduct conformable to the dictates of our religion, ſo fully expounded, and ſo ably enforced, by the unwearied labours of our worthy and truly reſpectable paſtors.

It redounds much to the credit of parliament that 10,000l. have been granted this ſeſſion, for eſtabliſhing in this kingdom a Roman Catholic college, in order to qualify young men of

that community, for the clerical function. In the year 1792, the author of this work recommended the neceſſity and expediency of the meaſure to the legiſlature, from a perfect conviction of its utility to the national intereſt. Maynooth has been ſelected as the moſt eligible ſituation for erecting this much wanted univerſity, It would be not only prudent but equitable to make a ſimilar grant in the enſuing ſeſſion of parliament, for the purpoſe of founding a preſbyterian college in the North of Ireland. A conſiderable annual ſaving, would form but a ſmall ſhare of the beneficial conſequences that would reſult from the adoption of the meaſure.

In the courſe of a few years, Ireland has made conſiderable progreſs in civilization and internal improvement, and if the countenance and protection of the legiſlature be ſeconded by the induſtry and orderly habits of the people, half a century will not elapſe, until this kingdom will become as diſtinguiſhed for its proſperity, and opulence, as it has hitherto been for its poverty and wretchedneſs. What iſland can boaſt of ſo many internal reſources

ſources? a fertility of ſoil, capacious and commodious harbours, fine and productive fiſheries, with rich and numerous mines.

It is to be hoped, the people will turn their attention more to tillage than they have done, as extenſive paſturage proves highly injurious not only to the population, but to the civilization of the country. The great body of the people ought to apply themſelves chiefly to their own immediate occupations and concerns; inſtead of devoting whole nights and days to the vain diſcuſſion of political ſubjects, which are by no means ſuited to their talents, avocations, or intereſts. There is not a town or village in the kingdom, that does not ſwarm with political demagogues who, through ignorance or deſign do incalculable miſchief to the community.

Political ſubjects ſhould form at beſt, but ſecondary conſiderations with the maſs of the people. Induſtrious attention to their various intereſts and purſuits, ought to conſtitute the primary object of their lives. Mechanics, manufactures and artiſts would much more profitably employ their time and abilities

lities in their reſpective ſtations, than in the idle diſcuſſion of politics, a ſubject in general but ill adapted to the level of common underſtandings. What have the peaſantry of Ireland to do with ſtate affairs? Are they competent by their information and learning to improve a ſyſtem of government which occupied the combined wiſdom of ages to deviſe and mature. Let them attend to the various improvements that can be made in certain ſpheres, where their ſkill and exertions will prove both profitable to themſelves and uſeful to their country. *Ne ſutor ultra crepidam*, was the adage current two thouſand years ago, and is extremely applicable to the preſent times. Unſpeakable advantages would reſult to the ſtate were individuals only to apply themſelves to their immediate concerns; but unfortunately for the public repoſe, politics ſeem to be the rage of the day: and ignorance of matters of ſtate, miſrepreſentation of men in power, and falſe notions of liberty, are the conſequences. Artful agitators in many parts of the kingdom avail themſelves of this political mania, and contribute largely to deceive, miſlead, and betray, the ignorant credulity

dulity of the people. Temporal concerns are not only abandoned by the populace, but what is ſtill of more important conſideration, their ſpiritual intereſts. Go to any houſe of religious worſhip in either town or country, and you will find it but thinly attended; the miniſter of Chriſt is deſerted for the agent of ſedition and the trumpeter of diſloyalty. The populace aſſemble in groups around the factious village demagogue, who by means of inflammatory papers, and ſpecious rhapſodies on liberty and equality, intoxicates the brain of the unlettered peaſant, who eagerly ſwallows any doctrine, however abſurd or chimerical which aims at the extinction of church and ſtate. Hence we ſee the viſible diminution of the authority of the clergy in almoſt every quarter of the kingdom; morality and virtue ſcarcely held in eſtimation, and a ſpirit of combination, diſloyalty and ſedition erecting the ſtandard of rebellion in a country bleſt with a virtuous monarch and an happy conſtitution. O deluded people!—were an invaſion to take place, purſuant to your wiſhes and machinations, you would perceive when too late, that you had made a fatal exchange

change: your clergy, your nobility and gentry, would be made the firſt ſacrifices of French invaſion, and afterwards they would employ you either as their vaſſals or the inſtruments of their deſpotiſm. They would not conquer for you, and the liberty and equality that you would participate in, would be that of ſervitude or death. Continue peaceable and amenable to the laws of your country, if you wiſh to ſecure your liberty and property, and to extirpate the preſent ſymptoms of commotion and rebellious diſaffection.

No ſyſtem of government can ever practically be reduced to theoretical perfection, but it is by compariſon that we are to form an opinion of the imperfection or excellency of any particular ſyſtem. If we by this ſtandard judge of our mode of government, it will appear demonſtratively to have the preference over all others, of which ancient or modern hiſtory affords us any information. It is that ſyſtem which the truly philoſophic hiſtorian, Tacitus, ſo much praiſes and admires, but which he thought on account of its perfection could never be eſtabliſhed in any nation.

ERRORS will by the lapſe of time, creep into all human inſtitutions, and it becomes the wiſdom of parliament to rectify and amend them; many of theſe have been lately reformed, and we may naturally conclude that the virtue and perſeverance of our ſenate will complete what is ſtill wanting to perfect our government. But is he a friend to his country who would ſtimulate the populace to reform the conſtitution by violence and deſperate innovation? miſerable and wretched would be the ſtate of the kingdom were the *rabies populi* to break looſe; the ſubverſion of all order, rapine, plunder and murder, would be the immediate conſequences, together with an utter contempt of all things human and divine. Loyalty to the ſovereign and attachment to the conſtitution have ever been the characteriſtics of the Iriſh nation, and although many of the lower orders have lately been ſeduced from their allegiance, by infatuated fanatical republicans, ſuch as the miſguided and frantic reformer O'Connor, who expiated his treaſon at Naas, ſome days ſince.

A MUTINOUS

A MUTINOUS ſpirit recently made its appearance in ſome ſencible Engliſh regiments quartered in this kingdom, but it was happily checked by the laudable exertions of government. An order had iſſued that all new raiſed regiments above the number 100, ſhould be reduced and drafted into other regiments moſt of which were under orders for foreign ſervice; this occaſioned the mutinous diſpoſition in the regiments above alluded to, as they conceived ſuch treatment, repugnant to the conditions on which they had entered the ſervice. However the wiſe precautions government adopted on the emergency had the deſired effect.

THE conviction of O'Connor has clearly diſcloſed the real principles of modern defenderiſm; its object is the ſubverſion of our excellent conſtitution in church and ſtate, and the extirpation of monarchy for the government of the mob: however the progreſs of the contagion has not been conſiderable, wherefore, a few more victims immolated at the altar of juſtice, will, it is to be hoped, put a period to the preſent career of diſloyalty and ſedition. The vigilance of government on this

this occaſion, and the judicious diſpoſition of the military, have contributed not a little to the preſervation and protection of the peace of the country.

We are advanced to that period which terminates the preſent work. Our object has been to commemorate the leading facts in the hiſtory of this nation, and that of the empire at large, with truth and preciſion, and to ſtamp them with the genuine ſentiment, which they excited of approbation or cenſure.

It muſt be admitted, it is difficult to diveſt ourſelves of certain predilections which almoſt naturally ariſe in our minds, when engaged in the recital or deſcription of ſcenes acted in ages and countries the moſt remote; it would rather imply an apathy and defect of feeling, than any ſuperiority over common or vulgar prejudice, if we could ſurvey with the ſame compoſure the former and preſent ſtate of this kingdom; or if in the relation, we ſhould allow no portion of enthuſiaſm to mix with the veneration always due to hiſtoric truth.